

# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

APRIL, 1918.

## THE PLOT OF THE *SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS*.

THIS paper is an attempt to show that considerations similar to those which have been applied by the present writer to the *Suppliants*<sup>1</sup> throw more light than is generally admitted on the construction and dramatic value of the *Septem*. The criticism of Dr. Verrall,<sup>2</sup> whom I cannot mention without a deep sense of gratitude and sorrow, and the edition by Prof. Tucker, have made it unlikely that any careful student will without argument dismiss the play as uninteresting. We are no longer content to remark that 'the scene between Eteocles and the Chorus is dramatically unnecessary,'<sup>3</sup> that 'in the episode, vv. 370-708, which is the centre and kernel of the *Seven against Thebes*, we look in vain for action,'<sup>4</sup> that 'there is no drama proper except between Antigone and the Herald.'<sup>5</sup> Such remarks correspond to the first impression of a modern reader, but it is the business of the critic to answer, if he can, the question what qualities of the work made it interesting and exciting to the ancient audience. In what I have to say I hope to supplement, not to attack, the answers given by the scholars whom I have named. So far as the mechanical structure of the drama is concerned Dr. Verrall's interpretation, as modified but in the main accepted by Prof. Tucker,<sup>6</sup> needs no defence.<sup>7</sup> At the outset Eteocles has no reason to expect that his brother will be one of the seven leaders of the assault, nor is there any reason to assume that Eteocles will himself be one of the defending champions. It is the panic of the women that makes him announce his intention of fighting. Again, in the central scene, the improbable behaviour of the Messenger in describing the Seven

<sup>1</sup> See *C.Q.*, October, 1911, vol. v., pp. 220 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> In his edition and in his notice of Prof. Tucker's work, *C.R.*, 1908, vol. xxii., p. 249.

<sup>3</sup> P. Richter.

<sup>4</sup> Muff: cf. Schmid in Christ's *Gr. Lit. Gesch.*, I. i. p. 292. For the inadequacy of such criticism see H. Weil, *Drama Antique*, pp. 29 sqq.; yet Weil can say (*Asch.* ii., p. 15) 'uno tantum uersu ad tragicum faturum nuxum reuocamus.'

<sup>5</sup> Hartung.

<sup>6</sup> See for instance Tucker's notes on vv. 269, 636, and cf. W. G. Headlam, *On Editing Aeschylus*, p. 87.

<sup>7</sup> See Dr. Verrall's restatement of his view in *C.R.*, 1908, vol. xxii., p. 249, and Mr. Bayfield's admirable summary in *C.R.*, 1904, vol. xviii., p. 160. As originally stated, Dr. Verrall's interpretation was misleading, for it seemed to imply that the drama depended on military dispositions and on a nice derangement of plans.

Champions singly and *seriatim* was dramatically necessary: it was essential, however improbable, that the name of Polyneices should be reserved to the end, that his challenge should come to Eteocles as a surprise and shock. For the apparent waste of time involved Aeschylus gives a naïf excuse (354 Weil): for the greater improbability, the long and formal interchange of rhetoric, no excuse is given. If the absurdity was noticed by an audience accustomed, as Tucker has said, to a rhetorical epic convention, and delighting generally in oratory and particularly in descriptions of martial equipment, it might have been justified, as Verrall said, by the dramatic moment to which it was the necessary condition. But I do not believe that it was noticed. I do not believe that the panic of the women and the recital *seriatim* of the names of the champions were felt by the audience to be a part of the fatal working of the Curse: simply, they are the means by which Aeschylus contrives to make the crisis appear natural and inevitable. The poet has arranged a series of coincidences in order that that situation may plausibly be brought about: he has not laid stress on the fact that they are coincidences, nor does he mean the audience to feel any particular interest in the coincidences as such.

If this account is true, we must admit that the central scene, though in the analysis of the poet's method it is found to be a deliberate device for producing the crisis, is not for that reason justified as drama. Tucker has given reason for supposing that the Athenian audience would nevertheless have found the scene excellent as poetry and for its rhetoric. But the rhetoric of Aeschylus is generally dramatic,<sup>1</sup> and this scene also, I believe, has a dramatic value if we remember that to a Greek at the time of Aeschylus events are brought about not only by what men do but by what they say. In the *Suppliants* the use of the right words first to Zeus, then to the King, secures the safety of the daughters of Danaus. In the matter of prayer, as in magic, we understand the importance of using good words; in events of daily life—it is a commonplace—euphemism was a consideration of greater importance with the Greeks than with us.

Of Sophocles Mr Mackail has remarked that a 'keen exquisite sense of language, of the potency and inexhaustible significance of the word is always present with him. In the *Oedipus at Colonus* the power of the word—the little word,' σμικρὸς λόγος—is a recurrent note. Language, to one who had been working in it with exquisite truth and delicacy for half a century, has become something awful.'<sup>2</sup> He might have added, that with Athenians of the fifth century in general the sense of the potency and significance of words was always present. Many phrases in Sophocles and elsewhere, which seem strange to us, are natural, almost conventional, expressions of this sense. Thus, in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, when the King has consulted the Oracle to learn by what means he may save the city, in Greek a natural expression for

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my remarks in *C. Q.*, October, 1911, vol. v., p. 228. Nothing that I say there or here affects the value of such an analysis as is made by M. P. Nilsson (*Neue Jahrb.*, xxvii., 1911, p. 626) of the

epico-lyrical composition of the play, or of Brun's remarks (*Lit. Porträt*, p. 56) on the characters.

<sup>2</sup> *Lectures on Greek Poetry*, p. 150.

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'by what means' is *ὅ τι δρῶν ἡ τί φωνῶν*, just as in *P.V.* 686 *τί χρὴ δρῶντ'* ἡ λέγοντα . . . and in *Cho.* 315 *τί φάμενος ἡ τί ρέξας τύχοιμ'* . . . (the expression used by the suppliants who would summon Agamemnon to his revenge);<sup>1</sup> cf. Hom. A 394-5. The Greeks in fact not only contrast *λόγος* and *ἔργον*, *θουλαῖ* and *ἔργα* as different sides of the activity of man, but couple them together making up that whole activity. We must beware of attributing to the peculiar sensitiveness of Sophocles expressions which are in fact simply Greek. To a Greek hearer there is nothing odd or unusual in phrases like *οὗτος δὲ τίς λόγῳ τε καὶ σθένει* (i.e. *θουλῇ τε καὶ ἔργοις*) *κρατεῖ* 68, *πονοῦσα καὶ λέγονσα* 364. Even so anyone who carefully reads the *Oedipus Coloneus* with Mr Mackail's remark in his mind can hardly fail to admit that the 'little word' is here treated as peculiarly significant: it is in fact one of the binding poetical motives of a dramatically rather disjointed play. Many isolated phrases, really significant, might be added to those to which Mr Mackail refers (443, 569, 620): see, for example, 46, 74, 138, 293, 550 and 1351, 624, 1128. In many cases it is difficult to say whether any special significance is meant to be felt: but in general Mr Mackail's observation is just . . . the whole play is full of the immense significance of the spoken word. The silence of the Grove of the Eumenides is relevant to the drama: the name of Oedipus, wrung from him by the questions of the villagers, fills them with fear: the divine voice summons him to rest. It is partly this sense of the significance of speech and silence that gives value to the cursing of Polyneices and to the injunction of secrecy upon Theseus.

Now we know (especially from the *Electra*) that it was a habit of Sophocles to make use of topics and phrases from older dramatists, investing them by more or less subtle modifications with new meaning and poetical value. It is probable that this *motif* of the significant word, natural enough to Greek thought, was already when Sophocles wrote his play associated especially with the legend of Oedipus. Whether the peculiar use of the *motif* which appears in the *Oedipus Coloneus* implies that to the artist in words 'language has become something awful,' it is perhaps rash to conjecture. At any rate, in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* the same *motif* is not without significance.<sup>2</sup> The whole play is nothing but the emerging from darkness of a terrible *λόγος*. Throughout the play Oedipus wrings from unwilling speakers words which in the end prove fatal. His own wild words sting Teiresias into utterance of his

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Murray's 'bitter task' ignores the conventional character of this expression. His theory that Oedipus is hinting at a possible command to die for the city is not justified by Sophocles, and indeed would somewhat diminish the effect of the play. At the outset Oedipus is the strong, calm helper of a broken people: everything is devised to show how great and safe he seems to be.

<sup>2</sup> Consider the living oracles of 151-7, 476, the irony of 296 *οὐδὲ οὐτε φοβεῖ*, 545, 706, 1147, the words of Teiresias rising from *λέγω* 412 (cf. 449)

to *ἀρά* 418 and the climax *θοῆς* 420, and notice especially 324 *ὅτῳ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοι τὸ σὸν φώνην* *ἴστη* *πρὸς καιρόν*. It is the wicked words of Jocasta which terrify the chorus 864, 884. Notice how dramatically *πρὶν θῶμι* *ὄρθρος ἔνος* 503 is caught up by Creon's *δέλιν* *ἔτην* 513 just as *κακίας* 512 by *κακός* 521. Oedipus was started on his journey by 'a chance missile of reproach' (Jebb on 784). His own words invoked his doom 1384. Observe how Jocasta says *τὰ τῆς τόκης χρεῖ*, and Oedipus *παῖδα τὴν τύχην* (977, 1080), each just before knowledge of the truth.

dreadful secret. The interest of the scene with Teiresias lies here, and is quite independent of questions as to the fitness of Teiresias for his sacred office. In this scene is enacted on a small scale a drama similar to that of the whole tragedy: as in the whole, so in the part, the impetuousness of Oedipus drags to light the fatal meaning of Apollo's oracle. The famous Chorus, in which the Oracle is personified and lives, strikes the dominant note of the whole poem.

In the *Septem* also, oracles of Apollo and wild words of Oedipus, obscure at first—save to the audience—are translated into disastrous fact. Unfortunately, since the *Oedipus* of Aeschylus is lost, we cannot tell how far Sophocles in his treatment is working upon Aeschylean stuff. It must be clear, however, to any reader who has studied the *Septem* in the light, for instance, of Tucker's Introduction,<sup>1</sup> that the figure of Oedipus dominates the trilogy. As his begetting was the ruin of Laius, so his curse is the ruin of his sons. The Chorus at the crisis of the drama merely puts into new and ill-omened<sup>2</sup> words the themes which have coloured the whole trilogy: Laius 'Απόλλωνος . . . τρὶς εἰπόντος . . . βίᾳ disobeyed, κρατηθεὶς ἐκ φίλων ἀβούλιαν, and had issue Oedipus; Oedipus married his mother and had issue; παράνοια συνῆγε νυμφίους φρεγάλεις<sup>3</sup> . . . , ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄρτιφρων ἐγένετο . . . τέκνοις ἔφηκεν . . . πικρογλώσσους ἄρας. It is evident that here already we have the sense of the potency and inexhaustible significance of words which leads to such remarkable developments in Sophocles.

The legend, then, and the atmosphere of the trilogy make it certain that a Greek audience will find effectual working for good and evil, not only in the acts but also in the words of the performers. But there is another consideration which must be remembered if we are to realize how dramatic the play must have seemed. The *Laios* presented the sin and ruin of Laius: in the *Oedipus* the sin and ruin of Oedipus involve the ruin of his wife and the cursing of his family: in the *Septem* the family is ruined through the Curse, and the City is involved in the peril—δέοικα δὲ σὺν βασιλεῦσι μὴ πόλις δαμασθῇ.<sup>4</sup> As in the third part of the *Oresteia* our interest in the house of Agamemnon is raised to the plane of patriotism, so in the *Septem*, the City as well as Eteocles claims our sympathy and interest. In the *Eumenides* indeed our interest in Orestes is swamped by our greater interest in Athens and Athenian Institutions: in the *Septem* the double interest involves no such lack of unity—μετὰ γὰρ μάκαρας καὶ Δᾶς ισχὺν | ὅδε Καδμείων ἥρυξε πόλιν . . . , true words and an admirable ending for the play, whether or not the lines were written by Aeschylus. Eteocles saves his city, but himself he does not save: that is the

<sup>1</sup> Especially pp. xxv-xxix.

<sup>2</sup> And therefore dramatic: see Tucker's note on v. 820, excellent so far as concerns the dramatic effect of 707-776, whatever may be thought of his interpretation of 820 itself.

<sup>3</sup> It is true of course that Oedipus married through δύρα, not through παράνοια; but this is a refinement of modern criticism. If the order

of the words is not enough, ἄρτιφρων makes it clear that Oedipus, not Laius, is meant.

<sup>4</sup> It is the importance of this new interest that justifies the doublet τόδις οὐτονοματικές lines. It is impossible to say whether σύζηται τόδις (in 734) is or is not a modification of the oracle to suit the patriotic development of the play.

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tragedy. The interest of the audience in the fate of the city was of course made keener by the memory of the Persians,<sup>1</sup> and, as Prof. Tucker has pointed out, by the fact that the fortification of the Acropolis was at this time a burning question of Athenian policy. The memory of the Persians moreover explains those references to a foreign tongue which led both Verrall and Tucker in different ways to think that Aeschylus was consciously or unconsciously dealing with ethnology. Cadmeia is a Greek city besieged by wicked invaders; Polyneices like Hippias is an exiled prince on whose behalf these invaders come; there is no need to talk of an ancient Northern Hellas, or to suppose that the Cadmeans 'though Cadmus was a Phoenician' claimed to be as 'Greek as the Achaeans.' Words and phrases like ἐτεροθρόψ, φθόγγον Ελλάδος, βάρβαρον τρόπον are alive, and suggest no thoughts of ethnology to an audience which remembers the burning of Athens by the Persians.<sup>2</sup>

Eteocles, then, though he sinned and was killed, saved the city. But how? His first words give the answer. The late Dr. Headlam used to say that the first words of an Aeschylean play struck a keynote of the symphony: in the *Suppliants* Ζεύς, in the *Agamemnon* θεούς, in the *Libation-bearers to the Dead* Ἐρμῆ χθόνει, in the *Eumenides* πρῶτον μὲν . . . Γαῖαν, in the *Prometheus*, the story of the suffering Titan, Χθονός, and in this play 'Citizens of Cadmus.' He might have added that the whole of the first sentence is sometimes significant: θεοὺς μὲν αἵτω τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων, (and Clytaemnestra says ἔνδι καὶ σὺ θήσομεν κρατοῦντες τῶνδε δωμάτων καλώς), Ζεὺς μὲν ἀφίκτωρ ἐπίδοι προφόρων . . . Διὰ δὲ λιποῦσαι χθόνα . . .<sup>3</sup> Ἐρμῆ χθόνει πατρῷ ἐποπτεύων κράτη | σωτήρ γενοῦ μοι σύμμαχός τ' αἰτουμένῳ.<sup>4</sup> So here, as Κάδμου πολῖται stands for the fact that this is the drama not only of Eteocles, but also of the πόλις, so the first sentence of Eteocles is full of significance to those who have lately heard the Curse of Oedipus:

Κάδμου πολῖται, χρὴ λέγειν τὰ καίρια  
στίς φυλάσσει πρᾶγμα . . .

Now it is true that πρᾶγμα is not exactly πρᾶξις nor exactly ἔργον, but we miss much of the significance of these words if we translate with Tucker 'cause.' τὰ καίρια means, as Tucker says, both 'briefly' and 'to the point'; but it means more than that.<sup>5</sup> The order of the words stresses λέγειν and connects it, by chiasmus, with πρᾶγμα. It is the part of a good general to speak as well as do τὰ καίρια. To Eteocles the words mean little more than Prof. Tucker's 'excuse for his peremptory orders.' To the audience they

<sup>1</sup> See Tucker, Introduction, pp. xlv-xlii and notes on vv. 98, 149; Weil, vol. ii., p. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> The barbaric blazons make the matter clearer still. Plut. *Themist.* 8, 1 (to which Tucker refers in his note on v. 385) οὐτε πλάγη νεῦσι οὐτε κύρσαι καὶ λαμπρότερες ἐπιστήμασι οὐτε κρανγαλα κορυφαῖς οἱ βάρβαροι παιᾶνες ἔχουσι τι δικόν.

<sup>3</sup> For this see my article on the *Suppliques* (C. Q., 1911). I should have added there an acknow-

lement to Prof. Murray (*Greek Epic*, pp. 108, 291). I had forgotten that I was indebted to him for my interpretation of ἀφίκτωρ, and only remembered my indebtedness when I read the second edition of the *Greek Epic*.

<sup>4</sup> For this see my article on *Politics in the Frogs*, J. H. S. vol. xxx., 1910, p. 256.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Blomfield, who quotes Hesych. καίρια· ὠφέλιμα.

mean more. They know that it is the part of a good general to make *well-omened* speeches as well as good military dispositions. Every word that Eteocles speaks is fraught with good or evil to himself and his city.

His next remark has a tragic significance vaguely felt by hearers who know, of course, that he is doomed—

*εἰ μὲν γὰρ εὖ πράξαιμεν, αἵτια θεοῦ*

(precisely what will happen),

*εἰ δ' αὐθ', δη μὴ γένοιτο, συμφορὰ τύχος,  
Ἐτεοκλέης ἀν εἰς πολὺς . . .*

'Eteocles,' will be the cry. A disaster is to happen, not indeed the fall of the city to avert which he so piously prays, but his own disaster, of which he does not think. And in the saving of the city, and the lamentation for the actual *συμφορά*, the name of Eteocles will indeed resound. Zeus ἀλεξητήριος will prove his title to the name, as Eteocles prays. But Eteocles himself bears a name of omen. After the event the Chorus sing (812, 3)

*ὅρθως κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν καὶ πολυνεκεῖς  
ῶλοντ' αὐτεβεῖ διανοίᾳ.*

Not only Polyneices, but Eteocles also dies *κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν*.<sup>1</sup> The brothers were named (as Aias from the Eagle) for good omen, but their names prove evil after all. Of Polyneices we need not speak. But it is important to realize that Eteocles, the Man of Fame, as Polyneices is the Man of Strife, dies according to his name, from a false sense of honour, a desire for *εὐκλεία* that is really *δυσκλεία*. He wins *εὐκλεία* by dying for his city: he pursues *εὐκλεία* in his frenzied acceptance of his brother's challenge. This first mention of his name is not simply a device for introducing him to the audience, though it is also that: it is a first striking of the note which is heard in its full significance at line 685 *οὗτοις εὐκλείαν ἔρεις*. Tucker assigns 670–672 to the Messenger, but his reasons do not appear to me convincing. *εἴπερ κακὸν πάθοι τις* does not mean for Eteocles (though it does perhaps for the audience) 'if one must die,' but rather 'if one has to endure an evil in any case' at any rate let it be without cowardice. *Αἰσχύνη* means not merely disgrace, and the horror of disgrace, but also specially cowardice, and the sense of honour which avoids it.<sup>2</sup> Thucydides shows that clearly enough. Eteocles, like Agamemnon,<sup>3</sup> can say *τί τῶνδ' ἀνευ κακῶν*. To fight means to fight his own brother: to refuse means, apparently, cowardice and disgrace. Either course is evil *βαρεῖα μὲν κῆρ τὸ μὴ πιθέσθαι . . .*, he might say, *βαρεῖα δ' εἰ . . .* And so, in order to avoid *τὸ αἰσχρόν*, and to win *εὐκλεία*, Eteocles chooses to fight.

This first speech is indeed full of touches and suggestions whose significance becomes apparent only in the course of the drama. It is not without the intention of the poet, for example, that in line 605, just before the crisis of

<sup>1</sup> Hence the plural: there is no need to suppose with Weil that a line is lost.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Thuc. v. 111, quoted by Headlam, and i. 84. <sup>3</sup> Agam. 206 sqq.

his fate, the hero speaks of Loxias, ὁ σεμνὸς ἐβδομαγέτας, who is to take for his own the Seventh Gate, as one who φιλεῖ στγᾶν ἡ λέγειν τὰ καίρια. Notice again in passing the care with which the rhetoric is constructed. Lines 1-9 begin and end with Cadmus (Tucker has well remarked that Καδμείων πόλει implies a special claim on the gods<sup>1</sup>), Κάδμου πολῆται being answered by Καδμείων πόλει. Similarly, the second paragraph begins with ὑμᾶς δὲ χρή (which repeats the χρή of line 1) and ends with χρέος τόδε (a consideration which should make us careful before we interpret γένοισθε as part of an elaborate continued metaphor). So also 21 νῦν μὲν . . . εὐρέπει θεός begins a fresh rhetorical paragraph which ends in εὐτελεῖ θεός. These are not merely devices for making the speech a piece of sounding oratory—they have their effect on the dramatic value as a pious (therefore effectual, salutary) utterance, promising good on the whole, yet not without hints of evil. As the first paragraph appeals to Zeus and the second to Earth ἡ πανδοκούσσα κ.τ.λ., so the third begins and ends with θεός. This is no accident.<sup>2</sup> In line 69, after the Messenger has delivered his report, the prayer of Eteocles begins ὁ Ζεὺς τε καὶ γῆ καὶ πολισσούχοι θεοί. The Messenger's speech has hints of the barbarism, pride, and fatal destiny of the assailants. There is one point which appears to have escaped the notice of commentators. The Oath of 46-48,

ἢ πόλει κατασκαφὰς  
θέντες λαπάξειν ἄστυ Καδμείων βίᾳ  
ἢ γῆν θανόντες τήνδε φυράσειν φόνῳ,

is skilfully interpreted against the Confederates by the immediate mention of the μυημέια which they are fastening to the chariot of Adrastus. Θ' of M. emphasizes this point: δ' of Stobaeus slightly obscures it.

The panic of the women which follows is designed, first of course to stimulate the imagination of the audience, to suggest the stress and the emotion of a city in peril; it also, as Verrall observed, advances the mechanical plot by inducing Eteocles to announce his intention of fighting. But it has a place in the more important moral drama as well. The evil-omened cries of the women constitute a danger, not only because they are a source of disorder and are calculated to discourage the fighting men, but also and chiefly for the simple reason that they are ill-omened, unlucky. With this danger Eteocles has to deal. At first he is carried away by anger, and it seems as if he will ruin all by a combination of tyrannical brutality and impiety. He is surely wicked, and intended to be thought wicked, when, in line 180 he threatens a death by stoning. In *Agam.* 1615, the same threat is clearly hubristic, and so in Soph. *Ant.* 36, the order of Creon is meant to be thought arbitrary and tyrannical. In his passion, moreover, Eteocles is in danger of slighting

<sup>1</sup> In 288-290 Διογενῆς . . . Καδμογενῆς, each word is significant. Tucker has a good note, but does not connect the two words in his translation. Transl.: 'As you are sprung from Zeus, save us . . . for we are sprung from Cadmus.'

In 128 not 'though we are sprung of your blood we worship,' but 'because of it we worship (and have a claim to be heard).'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 260-6. Tucker well explains the repetition there. Cf. Wecklein, *Studien zu A.* (1872), p. 54.

the gods. 'We were terrified,' say the women. 'Well,' he answers, 'if sailors run about vaguely from end to end of their ship, what good is that?' The answer of the Chorus is a rebuke and a necessary rebuke, 'Our running about was not vague—it was to the ancient images of the gods I ran (in the gods I put my trust) when I heard . . . in that crisis my terror caught me away, and it was to prayers to Heaven that I turned.' The emphasis of all this is on *δαιμόνων, θεοῖσι* and, by a regular chiasmus of stress, on *μακάρων . . . ἀλκάν*.<sup>1</sup> It is due to the constant reminders from the Chorus of the importance of reverence to the gods that Eteocles passes from anger and danger<sup>2</sup> to the perfectly correct (and salutary) attitude of his long speech 264 to 287. Though in general this scene is admirably interpreted by Tucker, there are points in this speech which might have been made clearer: *aἰροῦμαι* is not simply 'this change of talk is better to my liking,' for it suggests ideas connected with e.g. *δέχομαι τὸν ὄρνι* (cf. *Agam.* 1653, *δεχομένοις λέγεις θανεῖν σε· τὴν τύχην δ' αἰρούμεθα*): similarly on 252 Tucker says, 'It is wrong to use in prayer such expressions as imply that the gods may betray us': it is more than wrong, it is dangerous. That fact becomes important in line 254 *θάρσος φίλοις, λύνοστα πολέμου φόβον*. Tucker says in his note that one idea involved is the frightening of the enemy, but Aeschylus does not say so. Is Tucker still thinking of his *θάρσος φίλοις λύνοστα, πολεμίων φόβον*, which he has withdrawn? As for *Ἐλληνικὸν νόμισμα*, the point of that is simply that the paean is the Greek—therefore the admirable and salutary—custom. Tucker rejects *λύνονται solventibus* rightly, but by his translation and note implies that *νόμισμα κ.τ.λ.* means 'the jubilant shout that *passes* in all Greece,' and that this is an allusion to the use of *νόμισμα* in the sense of 'coin.' Here also there is no need to drag in the enemy's point of view. By the well-omened paean the citizens are encouraged, their fear of the enemy, and actually the fearfulness of the enemy are diminished.

The scene as a whole is brilliantly contrived. Just as the Chorus are induced by Eteocles to abandon their dangerous expressions of excessive fear for the safe and pious *σὺν ἄλλοις πείσομαι τὸ μόροιμον* (recalled and stressed by Eteocles in 282), so Eteocles is turned by the insistence of the Chorus from a mood of a certain rashness to the safe piety of his vow. I do not mean to suggest that *πύργον στέγειν εὐχεούθε* was not intended to raise enthusiasm. I think it was. But those who cheered would not be the less impressed by the importance of the choric comment *οὐκοῦν τάδ' ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν*. Both Eteocles and the Chorus are right: both also are at first inclined to excess.

It must be confessed that the Chorus slip back to words of ill-omen with a persistency which reminds us of the Elders in the *Agamemnon*. In v. 820,

<sup>1</sup> I mention this specially, because Prof. Tucker's translation seems to me to place the emphasis wrongly. He makes the point of their reply, 'Nay, I came to the gods because I trusted them.' The point really is 'not vaguely, but to the gods' (whom you must not slight). Similarly the point of v. 209 is obscured if

*βουλεύον κακός* is stressed at the expense of *θεοῖς καλοῦνα*.

<sup>2</sup> Though Eteocles is in danger of losing self-control and slipping into impiety, the scene is not, I think, tinged with the light-hearted sceptical irreverence suggested by Verrall.

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if Prof. Tucker is right, they deplore that their ill-omened talk has had its effect on the event. But I doubt if this is what they say.

We now come to the questionable central scene, but after so much time has been spent on the earlier scenes I think that little need be added. Admit that Eteocles saves the city by his moderation as the invaders destroy themselves by their own boasts,<sup>1</sup> and the whole scene, including all its rhetoric, becomes intensely alive. For the audience not a word of the description of the assailants, not a word of the reply of Eteocles, nor of the prayer or comment of the Chorus is undramatic. To us, many points are obscure or unintelligible. But even so, we can follow the main lines of the drama. Every reply of Eteocles seems to make him safer, as it certainly does make his city safer. Five champions all impious and boastful are described: against each of the five Eteocles turns the omens and at the same time avoids all boastfulness or impiety. Tydeus insults Amphiaraus—Eteocles fixes upon him the consequences of guilt by his *μάντις ἀνοίᾳ τινὶ* and *αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ τῆρός θύμην μαντεύεται*. The blazon of Tydeus we only half understand: there, as elsewhere in this scene, if we knew more of the Persian equipment we should perhaps find more significance.<sup>2</sup> This much is clear: Tydeus by implication compares himself to the moon. The answer is, that Night shall come upon him—and Melanippus, surely ominously named, shall bring it. Notice how in 399-401, though Eteocles is careful not to make a confident prediction, he suggests a happy issue by the ominous use of *ἄν* “*Ἄρης ἐφείσατο*.<sup>3</sup> Of Capaneus and his opponent nothing need be added to Tucker's commentary, but the opponent of Eteocles who boasts *ώς οὐδὲ ἄν* “*Ἄρης σφ' ἐκβάλλοι πυργωμάτων* is Megareus. In rejecting, rightly or wrongly, the interpretation which makes *σὺν τύχῃ δέ τρι* imply that Megareus is marked out ‘by happy chance’ as the obvious opponent, Tucker writes, ‘no hint is given as to the nature of this happy chance, or the secret of his fitness.’ The name Megareus is stressed, and the name is sufficient in itself to rout the boaster.<sup>4</sup> At the close of this speech there is perhaps a touch, but not more than a touch of over-confidence in Eteocles.

The first five champions are all alike wicked, but there is a progression of excitement. Tydeus insults the *μάντις* Amphiaraus, Capaneus derides the thunderbolt, Eteocles defies Ares, Hippomedon identifies himself with the enemy of Zeus (and the mention of Athena here raises the interest one stage higher), then Parthenopeus brings as his blazon the most deadly insult

<sup>1</sup> The admission is implied in Tucker's notes on 401, 612. But the Introduction and such notes as that on 543 show that the point needs emphasizing.

xv. 1904, pp. 35 sqq., 41-42 elephant bells not terrifying by their noise.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἄλεχθην* and *ἀλεχθῶν* (396-8) are words that find their full significance in 670-2, as *Δίκη*<sup>5</sup> (402) in 657, 8. For the significance of *Δίκη* and *Ἄρης* cf. Cho. 459, 934-7; Klausen, *Assch. Theolog.*, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Ares is involved by implication in the choice of the words *τοσδέ δημετεράνεον* in v. 292.

<sup>4</sup> *Kάλεσμεν* and *λόφοι* are magical, not simply meant by noise and a fine appearance to frighten the enemy, but prophylactic; cf. Chase, *The Shield Devices of the Greeks*, Harvard Studies, xiii., 1902, p. 70, n. 1, and Pease, *Harvard Studies*,

possible against the city (*τὸ πόλεως ὄνειδος*) and openly defies none other than Zeus himself.

Five times Eteocles has been tested and found sufficient. The sixth test is different. Amphiaraus is put in the sixth place not merely because he differs from the other champions, but because his solemn denunciation of impiety and the moralizing with which it is answered make a dramatic contrast to the storm of wickedness in which Eteocles is soon to be swept away. Notice that in lines 571-2 *μητρὸς πηγῆν* and *πατρὶς γαῖα* are significant to Greek ears: they suggest the sacred Earth and Water of the city,<sup>1</sup> the soil and the streams, both violated, both mentioned in order that they may be stirred to aid the defence. It is a mistake to say that *γαῖα ἀλοῦσα* here = *τὸ τὴν γῆν ἀλῶναι*. The supreme merit of Amphiaraus *οὐ γάρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει* gains fresh significance from the fact that Eteocles is soon to perish through his desire for *εὐκλεία*.

The reply of Eteocles is a masterpiece. There is no hint of *ὑβρίς*. A generous tribute to Amphiaraus is accompanied by a skilful turning of the omen against the army to which the presence of so good a man might well have brought good fortune. It should be noticed<sup>2</sup> that *καρπὸς οὐ κομιστέος κ.τ.λ.* answers *βαθείαν ἄλοκα κ.τ.λ.*, and that the asyndeton (noted by Tucker) is explained by that fact. Line 588 explains the preceding line, and means not simply that 'the wages of sin is death,' but that 'the field is the field of Ate, and the harvest thereof is death.' Observe also that 'δάμη' corresponds by the usual chiasmus to *ἄλωλεν* (cf. *δέδουκα δὲ σὺν βασιλεύσιν μὴ πόλις δαμασθῇ*). All the moralizing of Eteocles about Ate, though it turns the omens against the invaders, has also for the audience a sinister reference as it falls from the lips of him who is soon to be the victim of Distraction. *μετὰ δὲ οὖν μάκαρας*, Eteocles has saved six gates, and had he shown the same modest temper under the last great test all would have been well for him as for the city: *τὰς δὲ ἐβδομὰς ὁ σεμνὸς ἐβδομάγετας ἄναξ Ἀπίλλων εἴλετο*, for good and evil has taken as his own, for salvation to the city, for ruin to the brothers. The audience foresee the challenge, to Eteocles it is unexpected and overwhelming. The passionate nature which we have already discerned behind his self-control bursts<sup>3</sup> into a consuming fire. In spite of the remonstrance of the Chorus, half mad and reasoning about honour with the perverted logic of madness, he rushes to his sin and death. In the words which Prof. Tucker has attributed to Aeschylus *μέριμνα ἀμφὶ πόλιν θέσφατ' οὐκ ἀμβλύνεται*. He saved the city, but himself he could not save. And, when the bodies are carried in, the Chorus sing *ἰοὺ πολύστονοι, τόδ' εἰργάσασθαι σθ' ἄπιστον· ηλθε δὲ αἰακτὰ πήματ' οὐ λόγῳ*.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. 293-4.

<sup>2</sup> It was noticed by Weil.

<sup>3</sup> After a struggle for sanity (645 Schol.).

<sup>4</sup> *Εἰργασθε* and *οὐ λόγῳ* are stressed by the order of words: the *λόγος* has now become the *ἔργον*.

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## SOME RECENT THEORIES OF THE GREEK MODES.

### SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

I. Introduction. Sources of difficulty in the investigation.—II. Dr. Monro's pitch theory. The passage in Heraclides. Supplementary evidence from the *Problems*.—III. Prof. Macran's theory. Evidence against this theory. Prof. Macran's answer to this evidence. Further objections. Criticism of the evidence in favour of Prof. Macran's theory.—IV. Prof. Cook-Wilson's theory. Platonic and Aristotelian evidence against Dr. Monro. Objections to this theory.—V. Recapitulation. Statement of the antinomies in the evidence.—VI. Conclusion. The nucleus of certainty. The Greek, as contrasted with the modern, musical sense.

NOTE.—I have to thank Prof. J. Cook-Wilson for kindly allowing me to discuss his unpublished views on Greek Music, and Prof. H. S. Macran for his permission to quote from a private letter.

I. IT is a singular fact that, although the ancient Greek writings on music cover six or seven hundred pages, we are nevertheless unable to answer the apparently simple question—'What were the Greek modes, of whose importance we hear so much in Plato, Aristotle, and other writers?' Our uncertainty on this cardinal point is to be assigned to two main causes. The first lies in the character of the writers themselves. Some of these, as for example Heraclides Ponticus, are vague and unscientific in their methods. They mix up music with ethnology, morals, politics and other more or less irrelevant topics, and their whole attitude is one which challenges incredulity. Others, like Ptolemy, go to the opposite extreme. Their musical theory is technical and mathematical to the last degree, and they rival the medieval theorists in their arid pedantry, and their entire inability to recognize the great truth enunciated in Haydn's famous words—'Nothing is wrong in music which sounds right.'

The difficulty in solving the problem of the Greek modes is further increased by the fact that almost all our evidence dates from the later period of Greek music, when the modes had given place to keys, a period analogous to the epoch of modern music which has lasted from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the present day.

From these two causes springs the extraordinary diversity of opinion which prevails on this subject to-day. It is not too much to say that it is impossible to find any single point on which recent writers on the Greek modes are agreed. Since the beginning of the present century three distinct and highly original theories of the Greek modes have been propounded, the first by the late Dr. Monro in his *Modes of Ancient Greek Music*, the second by Prof. H. S. Macran in his edition of *Aristoxenus*, and the third by Prof. J. Cook-Wilson in a paper read before the Oxford Philological Society in

1904, a short account of which appeared in the *Classical Review*. It will be the object of this essay to examine these three theories and to present the problems remaining to be solved in the clearest possible way by segregating on the one side all that is demonstrably false and on the other all that is demonstrably true.

II. We will deal first with Monro's theory, the basis of which is that in earlier, as admittedly in later times, the important factor in Greek music was pitch, and that the so-called modes, like the later keys, differed in pitch and in pitch only. Now Monro, in expounding this view, says much that very few people would be disposed to deny, and a good deal that nobody at all would deny. It is important then, in estimating the weight of his arguments, to separate carefully those which attempt to prove his particular thesis from those which attempt to prove other, and more generally accepted, propositions. How much precisely can we accept from Monro, without necessarily endorsing his assertion that the Greek modes did not differ in tonality?

In the first place we can and must admit that, in whatever else the modes did or did not differ, they certainly did differ in pitch. This is proved incontrovertibly by the often quoted passages from the earlier lyric poets, Plato and Aristotle.

Secondly, we must agree with Monro when he argues against the double meaning assigned to the word *árrhovía* by some writers. If language has any signification at all, the same word in the mouth of the same writer cannot mean now one thing and now another. Further, as Monro points out, Plato and Aristotle frequently use the modal names in ways which give no hint of the meaning in which they wish them to be understood. They speak for instance of *τὰ Δώρια, τὰ Φρίγια, Δωριστή, Φρυγιστή*, etc.

Thirdly and lastly, we must admit that in the period between Aristoxenus and Ptolemy modal distinctions did not exist. For this we have the clearest possible evidence in contemporary writers from the *Eisagoge* onwards. And whatever mistakes these writers may have made about the music of antiquity, they can hardly be credited with elementary blunders about that of their own age.

A large portion of Monro's work is concerned with the proving of these propositions, which, though important in themselves, do not establish his main contention. A few data, however, remain which are easy to explain on his suppositions, and very difficult on any other. Some of these, curiously enough, Monro has himself overlooked, or to say the least, not duly emphasized.

We may take first the famous passage from Heraclides Ponticus (*ap. Ath. XIV* 624c) :

'Ηρακλείδης δ' ὁ Παιονικὸς ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ Μουσικῆς οὐδέ *άρμονίαν* φησι δεῖν καλεῖσθαι τὴν Φρίγιον, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τὴν Λύδιον, *άρμονίας* γὰρ εἶναι τρεῖς. τρία γὰρ καὶ γενέσθαι Ἐλλήνων γένη, Δωρεῖς, Αἰολεῖς, Ἰωνας . . . 625 D. καταφρονητέον οὖν τῶν τὰς μὲν κατ' εἶδος διαφορὰς οὐ δυνα- μένων θεωρεῖν, ἐπακολουθούντων δὲ τῇ τῶν φθόγγων ὀξύτητι καὶ

*βαρύτητι, καὶ τιθεμένων Ἄπερμεξολίδιον ἀρμονίαν καὶ πάλιν ὑπὲρ ταύτης ἄλλην . . . δεῖ δὲ τὴν ἀρμονίαν εἶδος ἔχειν ηθούς ἢ πάθους.*

Heraclides is here protesting against the undue and superfluous multiplication of modes, and he asks us to 'have no respect for those who cannot perceive *διαφορὰς κατ' εἶδος*, but take as their guide the pitch of the notes.' The key to the passage must be found in the words *κατ' εἶδος*. Are they to be taken in the philosophical sense, 'differences in kind,' or in the musical sense, 'differences in species' (i.e. octave species)? Prof. Cook-Wilson upholds the latter view. According to him, the people whom we are to despise are those who think that it is possible to obtain new modes indefinitely by the simple process of starting a note higher each time, and who 'cannot perceive' that after the first seven modes we merely obtain replicas at a higher pitch. Now in the first place there needs no Heraclides to tell us to 'despise' these folk. A man who, while setting up to be a musical theorist, is 'unable to perceive' that the octave B - B' is, as far as tonality goes, identical with the octave B' - B", is beneath contempt. Secondly, *τῶν ἐπακολούθων τῇ τῶν φθόγγων ὁρύτητι καὶ βαρύτητι* should mean 'people who consciously adopt difference of pitch as their differentia,' not 'people who add new modes which as a matter of fact only differ from other modes in pitch.' Thirdly, on this view Heraclides must have expressed himself very badly. For the real offenders, according to Prof. Cook-Wilson, are not those who 'fail to perceive difference in species' (e.g. between B - B' and C - C'), but those who fail to perceive identity in species (e.g. between B - B' and B' - B"). Fourthly, and most important, Heraclides has said a few lines before that in reality there are only three modes, Dorian, Aeolian, and Ionian. He then goes on to attack those who have increased the number, singling out for special condemnation the inventors of the newest modes, Hypermixolydian, etc. The general impression one gets from the passage is that three modes are enough, that to add to these is bad, and that the more one adds the worse it is. But if, as Prof. Cook-Wilson thinks, Heraclides is merely attacking those who increase the number of the modes beyond the point at which differences of tonality or species become impossible, why does he stop short at three? On Prof. Cook-Wilson's theory the multiplication of modes beyond three, and the multiplication of modes beyond seven are on quite different planes of legitimacy. Whereas Heraclides speaks as though the latter were merely an aggravated form of the former. Finally, it may be observed that the words *δεῖ δὲ τὴν ἀρμονίαν εἶδος ἔχειν ηθούς ἢ πάθους* strongly suggest that the word *εἶδος* in *τὰς κατ' εἶδος διαφορὰς* is to be taken in its philosophical, not in its musical sense.

It is useless to multiply modes indefinitely, because after a certain point the new additions cease to have any distinctive and specific character of their own. They merely express feelings which can equally well be expressed by already existing modes.

The passage in Heraclides Ponticus may then be fairly adduced in support of Monro's theory. But it must be remembered that Heraclides' method of

treating the subject is not calculated to inspire confidence. His style is somewhat extravagant, his musical science is coloured by ethnology, and in one place he apparently contradicts himself, first recognizing the Ionian as one of the three real modes, and then denying it the name of mode. So that his testimony must not be allowed undue weight, as against the more sober and circumstantial statements of other writers.

We now come to two passages in the *Problems*, the importance of which Monro has strangely overlooked, although they afford a striking confirmation of his views. The writer of the *Problems* says (XIX 3 and 4) :

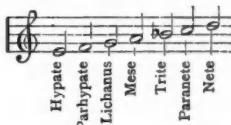
3. Διὰ τί τὴν παρυπάτην ἄδοντες μάλιστα ἀπορρίψουνται, οὐχ ἡττον ἡ τὴν νήτην καὶ τὰ ἄνω, μετὰ δὲ διαστάσεως πλείονος;—*Η* ὅτι χαλεπώτατα ταύτην ἄδουνται αὐτῇ ἀρχῇ. τὸ δὲ χαλεπόν διὰ τὴν ἐπίτασιν καὶ πιεσιν τῆς φωνῆς· ἐν τούτοις δὲ πόνος· πονοῦνται δὲ μᾶλλον διαφθείρεται.
4. Διὰ τί δὲ ταύτην χαλεπόν, τὴν δὲ ὑπάτην ῥᾳδίως, καίτοι δίεσις ἔκατέρας;

The opening words of Problem 4 state in the clearest possible manner that the interval between Hypate and Parhypate is (in the enharmonic genus of course) invariable, a diesis. And as there is no indication that the writer is thinking of any particular mode, the natural meaning of the words is that in every mode the interval between Hypate and Parhypate was a diesis. This apparently precludes the existence of true modal differences between the modes. We must here anticipate a little. Problem 4 alone could be assimilated easily enough by Prof. Macran's theory. For he admits that in any one genus the interval between any two degrees of the scale (such as Hypate and Parhypate) is constant. His theory of quasi-modal differences based on a movable *mēson* (of which we shall have more to say hereafter) is not in the least disturbed by Problem 4. Problem 3, however, in common with other passages in the *Problems* which we shall quote subsequently, is fatal to the theory of a movable *mēson*. For the contrast between *τὴν παρυπάτην* and *τὴν νήτην καὶ τὰ ἄνω* clearly implies that in all the modes the Parhypate was a low, and the Nete a high note.

Again, in *Problems* XIX 47, the writer says :

47. Διὰ τί οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἐπταχόδοις ποιοῦντες τὰς ἀρμονίας τὴν ὑπάτην, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νήτην κατέλαπον;—*Η* οὐ τὴν νήτην ἀλλὰ τὴν νῦν παραμέσην καλούμενην ἀφήρουν καὶ τὸ τονιάτον διάστημα.

That is, the old seven-note scale was, in the diatonic genus—



omitting the Paramese, B natural, and the *τονιάτον* διάστημα A-B. But, if the omission of the Paramese necessarily involved the omission of the *τονιάτον*

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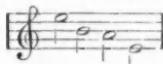
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διάστημα, it follows that the Paramese must invariably have been separated from the Mese by a tone: invariably, because here again there is no suggestion that the writer is speaking of any one particular mode. Here again we have evidence for the tonal identity of the modes, evidence which could be adequately accounted for by Macran's theory, were not that theory precluded by arguments which I have of necessity partly anticipated and must now set forth in a more complete form.

Plutarch *de Musica* 23, is another very important passage,<sup>1</sup> which seems to preclude the existence of true modal distinctions in Greek Music. In this chapter Plutarch quotes Aristotle as giving the following ratios between various notes in the scale:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Nete : Hypate} &= \frac{5}{1} (\text{octave}), \\ \text{Nete : Mese} &= \frac{3}{2} (\text{perfect fifth}), \\ \text{Paramese : hypate} &= \frac{3}{2}, \\ \text{Paramese : mese} &= \frac{9}{8} (\text{tone}). \end{aligned}$$

This fixes the Nete, Paramese, Mese and Hypate as follows:



Aristotle says nothing about the Lichanus, Parhypate, Trite and Paranete, but the restrictions he gives preclude the F and B modes.

III. It is needless to set down here the ingenious theory of a moveable *μέση* by which Prof. Macran has attempted to solve the problem of the Greek modes. His arguments are to be found in his well-known edition of Aristoxenus (Oxford 1900). It may be observed in passing that the distinction which he supposes to have existed between the modes is an extension of the difference between the Authentic and Plagal modes of medieval music. The theory is an exceedingly ingenious compromise between the pure key view and the ordinary modality view. Its advantage is that it is able to assimilate a great deal of the apparently contradictory evidence on both sides. On the one hand, Prof. Macran can accept and explain everything which tends to shew that in the Greek modes there was a single fixed tonality. On the other, he can accept and explain the passages from Plato and Aristotle, to be quoted later, which assert that the order of intervals varied in the different modes. Further, he can accept the identification between the modes and the species of the octave, as given in the *Eisagoge*, and he can explain the long-standing puzzle, why the pitch order of the modes is in reverse order to the pitch order of the species. For although, for example, the Mixolydian octave B - B' is the lowest octave on the Greater Complete system A - A'', yet the Mixolydian is a high mode because the *μέση* A is in it the highest degree but one of the scale.

<sup>1</sup> The passage is specially remarkable as coming from the pen of Aristotle, who, as we shall see later, in another place seems to vindicate the modality theory. Plutarch can hardly have mis-

understood his authority. He evidently has a definite passage in his mind. The opening of the chapter is, in fact, a verbatim quotation from Aristotle.

In spite however of these manifest advantages there are certain objections to this view which seem to me to be fatal.

1. The nomenclature, Hypate, Parhypate, Lichanus, Mese, Paramese, Trite, Paranete, Nete, is adapted to a scale in which the Mese occurs in the fourth place from the bottom. It is not adapted to any other. If, as Prof. Macran supposes, the Mese was movable, the other degrees of the scale must also have been movable. But when we attempt to imagine how the nomenclature was applied in cases where the Mese was not the fourth note from the bottom, we are met by an insuperable difficulty. In each of these cases one of the terms is superfluous, and one of the others has to do double duty. For instance in the Hypolydian mode, from F to F, if A is the *μέση*, the lower F must be the *παρυπάτη*. We have then in this scale no Hypate, while the upper E is unaccounted for. And it is difficult to see why this notation, which suits only the Dorian mode from E to E, should have been so widely used.

2. The writer of the *Problems* twice asks (XIX 25 and 44) why we use the term Mese, since there is no middle of eight. And he explains it by the fact that in the old days, when musicians used a seven-note scale consisting of two conjunct tetrachords, the Mese was actually the middle note. Later, when the Paramese was added, and the three top notes, Trite, Paranete, Nete, were raised a tone, the old nomenclature was retained in other respects unaltered. This is all intelligible and natural enough. But if, as Prof. Macran thinks, the Mese was not only not mathematically the middle note of the scale, but was actually capable of occupying any position in the scale whatsoever, the author of the *Problems* seems to be straining at a gnat while contentedly swallowing a camel. For he leaves unaccounted for a phenomenon about the Mese far more startling than that which he explains. Here, if anywhere, we should expect to find the direct testimony which Prof. Macran's theory lacks. We should expect the author of the *Problems* to offer some such explanation as the following: 'The original octachord scale was E - E. Later, when musicians began to use other scales, they still called A the Mese, whatever its mathematical position, because in all the scales it exercised the function of Mese, in that the tune frequently recurred to it.' (Cf. *Problems* XIX 20 and 36.)

3. Further, in Problem 44 the author expressly states that *εσχάτα μὲν ἔστιν ἄρρωνις νεάτη καὶ ὑπάτη, τούτων δὲ ἀνὰ μέσον οἱ λοιποὶ φθόγγοι, ὡς ἡ μέση καλουμένη μόνη ἀρχή ἔστι θατέρου τετραχόδου, δικαίως μέσην καλέται· τῶν γὰρ μεταξύ τινων ἀκρων τὸ μέσον ἦν ἀρχὴ μόνον.*<sup>1</sup>

4. Finally, to repeat what we said above in dealing with Monro's views, *Problems* XIX 3 shews that the Parhypate and Hypate were low notes, and the Nete a high note: low and high presumably in all the modes, there being nothing to indicate that the statement only applies to one mode, or to certain modes.

I have submitted these difficulties to Prof. Macran, and he has given the

<sup>1</sup> This is reinforced by earlier evidence. Plato *dréχως, νεάτης τε καὶ ὑπάτης καὶ μέσης.* (*Republic* 443 D) says *δεσπερ δρουτ τρεῖς ἀρμονίας*

## SOME RECENT THEORIES OF THE GREEK MODES

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following defence with regard to them. It is necessary to transcribe his words as they stand, because his arguments on this head have not appeared in print and it is therefore impossible to give references. He says:

‘Although there are seven different modes (or positions of the Mese or Tonic) it does not by any means follow that they are all equally primary, natural or serviceable. I have tried to explain in my introduction how the Greek scale began with tetrachords of the form—



and grew from their combination. Obviously then the form of the octave scale



which divides itself into two such complete tetrachords (one lying immediately below and the other above the Mese), is better typical of the original nature of the scale and more musically intelligible than, say, the scale—



where one tetrachord is so split up that part of it appears above and part below the other. Obviously, too, the former scale is more serviceable. For if we must constantly recur to the tonic, it is more practical to have that tonic written within easy reach of all the notes of the scale. Accordingly the nomenclature of the notes applies primarily to such a typical scale only, and apparent irregularities, such as you mention, present themselves when it is extended to the other scales. In reality (that is, as far as the *dúnamis* of the notes is concerned) in the scale you give



the upper E is both Nete and Hypate. A parallel to all this is supplied by our method of writing scales and defining the functions of the notes. If we are asked to play the major scale of a note C on the piano, we begin with that note and ascend to the C above. Our first C is the tonic, and dominant, subdominant, etc., are determined within that scale. But it is obvious that part of this is mere convention. If we play from G to G on the white notes of the piano, it is also the scale of C: but how dumbfounded a little girl at her scales would be if you played that for her and called it the scale of C! Similarly the fourth below a note is just as much its dominant as is the fifth above it; only the former does not lie within the conventionally determined scale of C.

' These facts explain the remarks in the *Problems* about the use of the term Mese. The original scale was:



and the Mese was the note common to both, the common measure of the two scales, as well as being the middle note as far as its numerical position was concerned. When the scale was changed to



it still retained the significance of being the highest note of the lower of the two tetrachords. And no matter what numerical position it holds in the scale, this its function remains the same. I have no idea what may be the date of the *Problems*, but it is quite possible that some remarks in them (such as you mention, about the voice breaking on certain notes) may be assuming the later nomenclature of scales (see par. 33 of my introduction), according to which the notes of every scale were named (regardless of the order of intervals), in the order, Hypate, Parhypate, Lichanus, etc.'

I should urge against this explanation in the first place that Prof. Macran's parallel of the terminology, Tonic, Supertonic, Mediant, Subdominant, Dominant, Submediant, Leading-note, Tonic, or of the tonic sol-fa notation, only serves to accentuate the difficulty about the Greek nomenclature in question. For the two modern nomenclatures differ from the Greek in just this important fact, that they each contain seven terms, while the Greek contains eight. As a result, they are easily adaptable to any species of the octave, by the simple expedient of repeating one of the terms, while the Greek nomenclature is not so adaptable, and when one tries to adapt it to any octave but the E octave, the difficulties arise which I have pointed out. Does Prof. Macran mean that the nomenclature was actually only used for the Dorian mode? Or does he mean that while only suiting this mode it was nevertheless used for the others also? In the former case it seems incredible that the nomenclature should have survived at all. In the latter it is apparently impossible to conceive how the nomenclature could have been adapted to the remaining modes. Had it been the case that the Dorian reigned for a long time unchallenged, and that the other modes were then added as afterthoughts, it is just conceivable that a nomenclature which had worked satisfactorily for so long should have been retained even after it had ceased to be adequate. But this is not the case. From the earliest times, in the fragments of the early lyric poets, right down to the Aristotelian Problems,

we have direct evidence of the coexistence of several modes. And when Prof. Macran suggests that the Dorian mode was more primary, serviceable and natural than the rest, on what testimony does he rely? There is no evidence that in practice the Dorian mode was found more serviceable. It occupies no such preponderant position in the literary tradition. And the odd fact remains that the author of the *Problems*, while speaking repeatedly of various modes, should constantly use language which applies to one and to one only, without any hint that his meaning is thus restricted.

As for Prof. Macran's alternative explanation of the facts, his suggestion that the remarks in the *Problems* date from the time of Ptolemy, I should answer first, that, although various dates have been assigned to the *Problems*, no one, so far as I am aware, has put them as late as Ptolemy; and secondly, that the statement in the *Problems* that the interval between Hypate and Parhypate is always a diesis is irreconcilable with the Ptolemaic system of modes, in which the interval between Hypate and Parhypate is not fixed but variable.

So far we have dealt only with the evidence against Prof. Macran's theory. It now remains to consider whether the evidence which he produces in support of that theory is satisfactory or not. The strength of Prof. Macran's position lies, as I have shown some pages back, in the ease with which his theory explains some points in the ancient writers which are otherwise obscure. His view is a good working hypothesis. It is not, however, supported by direct evidence. Prof. Macran relies mainly on two classes of statement: (1) statements about the order of notes in the tetrachord, and (2) statements about the tonic character of the Mese. He quotes, for example, *Problems XIX 20* (which asks why, if the Mese is out of tune, the whole instrument sounds out of tune), and then adds:

'It is hard to imagine how the nature of a tonic could be more clearly and truly indicated than it has been by the author of this passage in his description of the Mese. And as he expressly states that the Mese is the centre of unity in all good music, he must have recognized only one modality.'

But surely this is a most surprising conclusion. In medieval and modern music the Tonic is the centre of unity. But medieval music recognizes seven modalities, and even modern music recognizes two. The same fallacy runs through the whole of Prof. Macran's treatment of the ancient evidence with regard to the Mese. There is no single statement in the ancient writers which necessarily, or even naturally, implies that the order of intervals from the Mese, up and down, was fixed.

The testimony about the order of intervals in the tetrachord is at first sight more convincing. The Greek theorists from Aristoxenus on give the order of intervals in the tetrachord as follows: Enharmonic,  $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{2}, 2$ ; Chromatic,  $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{2}, 1\frac{1}{2}$ ; Diatonic,  $\frac{1}{2}, 1, 1$ . At the same time Aristoxenus says (II 46): *Ai δε τῶν γενῶν διαφοραὶ λαμβάνονται ἐν τετραχόρδῳ τοιούτῳ οἷον ἔστι τὸ ἀπὸ μέσης ἄρ-*

ὑπάτην, τῶν μὲν ἄκρων μενόντων, τῶν δὲ μέσων κινουμένων ὅτε μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ὅτε δὲ θατέρου. Combining these statements we are driven irresistibly to the conclusion that at the time when these theorists lived, the order of notes in each genus was fixed, and that accordingly genuine differences of tonality did not exist. So far so good. But Prof. Macran ignores the all-important fact that these statements tell us nothing about the earlier music. A very few years may produce a great revolution in artistic methods. Witness the early years of the seventeenth century, or the fact that only ten years ago a paper was read to the Musical Association on 'Some Tendencies of Modern (sic) Harmony as exemplified in Dvorak.' Aristoxenus shows by the way in which he speaks of his predecessors what a gulf existed between him and them. It is impossible not to feel in reading him that he is bringing musical theory up-to-date and abreast of practice. And when he complains that none of his predecessors have defined what progressions are melodious and what unmelodious, we are reminded of the horror with which the flattened sevenths of sixteenth-century madrigals filled Burney. There is thus no need to twist our theory of the old Greek modes into line with the statements of Aristoxenus, since the two clearly belong to different stages of development.

Aristoxenus lived in an age of pure keys, when the word ἀρμονία was an archaic term requiring explanation (II 36 τῶν ἐπτὰ ὁκταχόρδων ἡ ἑκάλουν ἀρμονίας). Prof. Macran's compromise between modes and keys is therefore unnecessary and untenable, since it ignores the fact that the mode-system and the key-system were the products of two distinct musical epochs.

IV. We have now to consider Prof. Cook-Wilson's recent contributions to the study of Greek music. In the first place, by certain quotations from Plato and Aristotle, Prof. Cook-Wilson has proved beyond reasonable doubt that the modes of the Platonic-Aristotelian period were genuine modes, in the modern sense, differing in the order of their intervals. The principal passages on which he relies are three in number:

1. Plato, *Philebus*, 17. Ἀλλ', ὁ φίλε, ἐπειδὸν λάβῃς τὰ διαστήματα ὄπόσα ἔστι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῆς φωνῆς ὁξέντητός τε πέρι καὶ βαρύτητος, καὶ ὄποια, καὶ τοὺς ὄρους τῶν διαστημάτων, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων δοσα συντήματα γέγονεν, ἡ κατιδόντες οἱ πρόσθεν παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν τοὺς ἐπομένους ἐκείνους καλεῖν αὐτὰ ἀρμονίας.

2. Plato, *Laws*, 665 D. τῇ δὲ τῆς κινήσεως τάξει ρύθμὸς δύνομα εἶη, τῇ δὲ αὖ τῆς φωνῆς, τοῦ τε ὁξεῖος ἄμα καὶ βαρίος ἔνγκεραννυμένων, ἀρμονία δύνομα προστηρεύοιτο.

3. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1276 B 1. Εἴπερ γάρ ἔστι κοινωνία τις ἡ πόλις, ἔστι δὲ κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολιτεία, γνωμένης ἑτέρας τῷ εἶδει καὶ διαφερούσῃς τῆς πολιτείας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δόξειν ἀν καὶ τὴν πόλιν μὴ εἶναι τὴν αὐτήν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ χορὸν ὅτε μὲν κωμικὸν ὅτε δὲ τραγικὸν ἔτερον εἶναι φαμεν τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις ἀνθρώπων δύτων, ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην κοινωνίαν καὶ σύνθεσιν ἔτερον, ἀν

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εῖδος ἔτερον ἢ τῆς συνθέσεως, οἷον ἀρμονίαν τῶν αὐτῶν φθόγγων ἔτέραν εἶναι λέγουμεν, ἀν ὅτε μὲν ἡ Δάριος ὅτε δὲ Φρύγιος.

Of these passages the third, which was quoted for the first time by Prof. Cook-Wilson, is undoubtedly the most important, because it mentions by name Dorian and Phrygian *ἀρμονίαι*, and it is therefore obvious that in this case the writer is speaking of the seven old modes, an assumption which Monro questions in the case of the passage from the *Philebus*.<sup>1</sup>

In the face of this evidence it may be regarded as tolerably certain that the Greek modes did differ in the order of their intervals, and that they were, to use ancient terminology, different species of the same octave. This excludes, amongst other things, the six modes given to us by Aristides Quintilianus as the modes to which Plato refers in the *Republic*. For these modes are not species of the octave, and in fact some of them are not octave modes at all, consisting, as they do, of more than eight notes, some of less.

Can we then proceed further, and accept the identification of the modes and the species which is given us in the *Eisagoge*? The pseudo-Euclid's remarks have been generally accepted without question. But they are suspicious in at least one point. If we turn to the later system of thirteen or fifteen keys, and examine those keys which bear the names of the seven old modes, we find an obvious reason why the names Phrygian, Dorian, etc., should have been applied to certain species of the octave even if the seven modes of earlier Greek music did not coincide with the octave species bearing the same names.

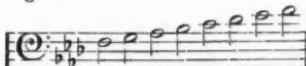
The seven keys bearing the old modal names are two-octave scales in the modern minor mode, without leading note. The lowest, the Hypodorian, starts on



The others, in ascending order, start on G, A, B $\flat$ , C, D, and E $\flat$ . (We consider only the Greater Complete System with which alone we are concerned. The arguments for pitching the Hypodorian key on the low bass F need not be quoted here. We are concerned at present with relative pitch only.) Now one note, and one only, is common to all these seven scales, the note



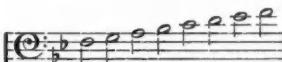
Let us examine the seven notes succeeding this note F in the seven keys. In the Hypodorian key we get :



<sup>1</sup> To this evidence we may add that of Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, i. 18 : 'harmoniam autem ex inter-

uallis sonorum nosse possumus, quorum uaria compositio etiam harmonias efficit plures.'

which is the Hypodorian species of the octave. In the Hypophrygian key we get :



which is the Hypophrygian species. And so on throughout. In any of the keys bearing the seven old modal names, the eight notes from and including the common note F form the species bearing that modal name. The question at once arises, where are the names original? Are the keys derived from the species, or the species from the keys? Westphal adopts the former view, Prof. Cook-Wilson the latter.

If the names of the species are derived from the names of the keys, we cannot accept without reserve the statement which identifies the species with the seven modes. We may therefore investigate the question, 'What were the intervals of the seven modes?' with open minds. Prof. Cook-Wilson takes as his starting-point the traditional order— $1, 1, \frac{1}{2}, 1, 1, \frac{1}{2}$ , given by Ptolemy for the pitch of the seven old keys, Hypophrygian, Hypodorian, Hypolydian, Phrygian, Dorian, Lydian, and Mixolydian, an order corroborated in the main by Aristoxenus II 37. This order of pitch Prof. Cook-Wilson assumes to have applied originally to the seven old modes. The question then naturally arises: How did the ancients measure differences in pitch between modes? What note in the octave did they take as the standard of pitch? For it is obvious, for example, that the F mode is in one sense a semitone higher than the E mode, in that the Hypate of the one, F, is a semitone above the Hypate of the other, E. While in another sense it is a tone higher, in that the Mese of the one, B, is a tone higher than the Mese of the other, A. Let us assume that they took the Paramese as the standard of pitch. We find the required order of intervals,  $1, 1, \frac{1}{2}, 1, 1, \frac{1}{2}$ , from G to F on the white notes of the piano. On our assumption, then, the white notes from G to F will be the Paramesai of the seven modes. This gives us the following table of modes:

1. HYPOPHYRIAN (C).	2. HYPODORIAN (D).
+	
3. HYPOLYDIAN (E).	4. DORIAN (F).
+	
5. PHRYGIAN (G).	6. LYDIAN (A).
+	
7. MIXOLYDIAN (B).	
+	

The standard note, the Paramese, is in each case marked with a cross.

This scheme has the advantage, according to Prof. Cook-Wilson, of bringing all the notes of 'all the modes, with the exception of the Nete of the Mixolydian, within the compass of the Greater Complete System, from A to A'', of which he considers the modes to have been sections.<sup>1</sup> Also it is confirmed by Plutarch's statement that the Mixolydian was the B mode (the one explicit statement about the intervals of the modes, apart from the general identification of modes with species). Moreover, Prof. Cook-Wilson draws confirmation for his theory from several much-disputed passages in the ancient authorities.

1. Plutarch, *de Musica*, 1136 D. Λόσις δὲ Λαμπροκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον συνιδόντα ὅτι οὐκ ἐνταῦθα ἔχει (ἢ Μιξολυδιστή) τὴν δάζευξιν, ὃν τοιούτην ἀπαντεῖ φάντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ ὄξον, τοιούτον αὐτῆς ἀπεργάσασθαι τὸ σχῆμα οὐλον τὸ ἀπὸ παραμέσης ἐπὶ ὑπάρχην ὑπατῶν.

Now, according to the above table the Mixolydian diazeuxis differs from the other diazeuxes in being an octave higher than the rest, A'-B' instead of AB. It is therefore suggestive that a doubt should have prevailed in ancient times about this particular diazeuxis.

2. Plutarch, *de Musica*, 1137 D. δῆλον δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπατῶν ὅτι οὐ δι' ἄγνοιαν ἀπείχοντο ἐν τοῖς Δωρίοις τοῦ τετραχόρδου τούτου. αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τόνων ἔχρωντα, δηλονότι εἰδότες. διὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ηθούς φυλακὴν ἀφῆσσον ἐπὶ τοῦ Δωρίου τόνου, τιμώντες τὸ καλὸν αὐτοῦ. In this connection Prof. Cook-Wilson remarks that his supposed Dorian mode from F to F starts just outside the tetrachord Hypaton of the Greater Complete System, the tetrachord B to E.

3. The system of Greek musical notation in the pure-key period is based on fifteen characters, which correspond to the naturals of modern notation. The raising of a note in pitch is denoted by the turning of the letter in a backward direction. A letter turned back on its axis 90 degrees (i.e., on to its back, ἀνεστραμμένον) denotes that the note signified by the letter has been raised a quarter of a tone. A letter turned 180 degrees (so as to face the reverse way, ἀπεστραμμένον) signifies that the original note has been raised a semitone.

Now the curious fact has long ago been noted that the natural signs, that is, the fifteen letters in their original position, are used for the notes of the Hypolydian key. On Prof. Cook-Wilson's theory the Hypolydian mode is E to E. Now this is the mode out of which the Greater Complete System is formed. Its tonality is the E tonality. It would then be perfectly natural that when this tonality came to be exclusively used, the tonalities of the other modes having dropped out, the inventors of the new notation should start by taking the existing notation of the Hypolydian mode (which was alone of use

<sup>1</sup> I confess that I cannot quite see the force of this argument. The Greater Perfect System arose from the exclusion of all modes except one, the E mode, and the addition to this mode of certain extra tetrachords at the top and bottom. It seems therefore almost an anachronism to attribute importance, or even existence to it at

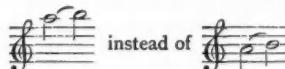
this early period, especially since at this time, as shown by Plato's criticism of the *παναρμόνον*, and by Pausanias' remarks about the Pronomus flute (IX 12, 5), the idea of combining all the modes in a single instrument or single scale was still a novel one.

to them, the other modes being obsolete), and should use it, as a starting-point, for the key bearing the same name; and that they should then have devised a further notation, consisting of the original signs ἀνεστραμμένα and ἀπεστραμμένα, for denoting the notes of the other keys.

It cannot be denied that these arguments, especially the third, possess considerable weight. There is however something to be said on the other side.

If Plutarch meant what Prof. Cook-Wilson supposes him to mean by the two passages quoted above, he certainly expressed himself very badly.

With regard to Lysis, for example, the words τεοῦτον αὐτῆς ἀπεργάσσασθαι τὸ σχῆμα are inaccurate. For on Prof. Cook-Wilson's explanation, what Lysis did was not to establish the σχῆμα of the Mixolydian mode, which was known before, but merely to point out that the Mixolydian diazeusis was



as in the other modes. In this case it is hard to see wherein the peculiar perspicacity of Lysis consisted, his observation being apparently quite an obvious one.

Again, with regard to the tetrachord Hypaton and the Dorian mode, Plutarch must have gone very far astray. Prof. Cook-Wilson admits the words τιμῶντες τὸ καλὸν αὐτοῦ, and διὰ τὴν τοῦ ηθούς φυλακήν to be nonsense. But, further than this, τῶν λοιπῶν is incorrect. For three other of Prof. Cook-Wilson's modes, the Phrygian G, the Lydian A and the Mixolydian B, are completely outside the tetrachord in question.

Lastly, as the identification of the E species with the Hypolydian mode is from one point of view the strongest argument for Prof. Cook-Wilson's theory, so from another point of view it is the strongest argument against it. Of all the seven modes the Hypolydian occupies the least prominent place in the tradition. If it is to be identified with the χαλαρὰ Λιδίστη of the *Republic* (an identification which has, perhaps rather rashly, been assumed as certain), it must have dropped out of music subsequently. We hear no more of it until it reappears among the species of the octave in the *Eisagoge*. It is ignored by Aristotle, the author of the *Problems*, and Aristoxenus. We have in fact no evidence, under its own name, that the Hypolydian was of practical importance. It is therefore almost inconceivable that this tonality should eventually have ousted the rest, and become, as the Greater Complete System, the single and exclusive tonality of later Greek music.

It may be observed here that the avoidance of the Hypolydian mode is easily accounted for on the supposition that it was the F mode. For next to the Mese the Hypate seems to have been the most important degree of the scale. And it is in the F mode alone that the interval between Mese and Hypate is not a concord, but a discord, an augmented fourth. A parallel is the avoidance, in medieval times, of the Iastian mode, in which mode alone the

interval between tonic and dominant is a discord (B to F). And this consideration, as far as it goes, is a reason for accepting the identification of the modes with the species of the octave, as given in the *Eisagoge*.

This identification is even more strongly supported by Plutarch, *de Musica* 1136 E, τὴν ἐπανειμένην Λυδιστί, ἥπερ ἐναντία τῇ Μιξολυδιστί. Westphal's explanation of the word *ἐναντία* (*Harmonik und Melopōie der Griechen*, p. 78) is as brilliant and simple as it is convincing. The Mixolydian is the 'opposite' of the Hypolydian or F mode, because the intervals of the latter are those of the former in reverse order— $1, 1, \frac{1}{2}, 1, 1, \frac{1}{2}$ , as opposed to  $\frac{1}{2}, 1, 1, \frac{1}{2}, 1, 1, 1$ . Prof. Cook-Wilson's Hypolydian in E is not the 'opposite' of the Mixolydian in this sense.

V. With what conclusions, then, are we left after reviewing this medley of scattered and apparently contradictory evidence? The evidence may conveniently be divided under three heads.

1. Passages tending to prove that the modes differed in the order of their intervals: e.g. the quotations from Plato's *Philebus* and *Laws*, and Aristotle's *Politics*.

2. Passages in the *Problems* tending to prove that the order of intervals between the degrees in the scale, Hypate, Parhypate, etc., was fixed and constant (e.g. *Problems* XIX 4 and 47). These passages can be explained either on Monro's or on Prof. Macran's hypothesis. But apparently they exclude differences of modality, in the modern sense of the word.

3. Further passages in the *Problems*, which forbid us to explain Class 2 on Prof. Macran's theory, because they show that the terms Hypate, Parhypate, etc., denoted fixed degrees of the scale: fixed, that is, in the sense that these degrees did not vary in different modes, but were always high, or always low, as the case might be. Add to this the difficulty of seeing how the nomenclature can possibly have worked on Prof. Macran's hypothesis. As examples of this class of evidence we may take *Problems* 3, 25 and 44.

The chief merit of Prof. Macran's theory is that it assimilates the first two of these three classes. It fails however before Class 3. Thus its merit is more apparent than real. For the *Problems* evidence must either be accepted as a whole, or, with good reason shown, rejected as a whole. Accepted as a whole it appears to be fatal to the modality view. We thus have, in well-defined contrast, the *Problems* evidence against modality, and the *Laws-Philebus-Politics* evidence for modality.

The date of the *Problems* is of course disputed, and an easy way of avoiding the antinomy is to put the *Problems* late, in the pure-key period. There are however grave difficulties in the way of this. The tone of the *Problems* is clearly pre-Aristoxenean, and it seems likely that they were composed, if not before the treatises of Aristotle's pupil, at any rate before the views contained in these treatises became widely current. We have as testimony for this the following considerations:

1. The insistence on the ethical character of the modes, which is characteristic of Plato, Heraclides, and Aristotle, but not of later writers, from Aristoxenus on. Compare the description in Problem 48 of the  $\eta\thetaος$  of the Hypodorian and Hypophrygian modes.

2. The constant use of the word *árrhōnia* for mode, a sense which has become obsolete in the time of Aristoxenus ( $\lambda\alpha\muονίας \acute{e}káλουν$  II 36), who only uses the word in the sense of 'the enharmonic genus.'

3. The absence of reference, either direct or indirect, to Aristoxenus, whose name and theories permeate all subsequent Greek musical literature.

4. Constant reference to the terms of the primary eight-note scale, and to no others. Whereas even Aristoxenus knew of one Complete System. For it is not true, as Monro says, that Aristoxenus knew of no extension of the eight-note scale. The corrupt passage II 40. 6, whatever the precise reading may be, shows that he knew of the tetrachord Hyperbolaeon. In the face of this it is almost certain that in I 6  $\tauῶν συστημάτων περὶ τε τῶν ἀλλών καὶ τοῦ τελείου$  refers to one of the *τέλεια συστήματα* of later Greek music, presumably to the Greater Complete System, since Aristoxenus speaks elsewhere of the tetrachord Hyperbolaeon, which is found in the Greater Complete System, but not in the Lesser.

If then the *Problems* belong to the pre-Aristoxenean age, our antinomy remains unsolved. The difficulty has never been fairly faced by writers on the subject. For though the *Problems* have long been a happy hunting-ground for writers on Greek music, who have freely culled from it isolated passages in support of various theories, no one has yet attempted to bring the whole mass of evidence which it contains into line with itself and with the testimony of other writers. Until this has been done with success, and the task seems a hard one, the primal question with regard to the Greek modes cannot be satisfactorily solved.

VI. What then in the midst of all this doubt can be regarded as tolerably certain? Very little, apparently. Still, we know incontrovertibly one important and interesting fact about the Greek modes, which shows us how essentially their musical sense differed from ours. I refer to the importance universally ascribed to pitch. Out of all the numerous passages in Greek literature which deal with the ethical character of the modes, there is one only which gives any indication that this character depended on anything else than pitch. This is the statement in Aristotle's *Politics* (VIII 7, 9) that Philoxenus tried to compose his dithyramb, 'the Mysians,' in the Dorian mode, but involuntarily relapsed into the more appropriate Phrygian. Now, as Prof. Cook-Wilson observes, were the difference merely one of pitch, Philoxenus had only to write the music in one mode and then transpose it into the other. Simpler still, he could order the instrumentalists to change the pitch of their instruments, as Mozart did in the Concerto for Violin and Viola in E $\flat$ , where the viola part is written in D, and the instrument is tuned a semitone sharp.

The instance of Philoxenus, however, stands alone. In all other cases

pitch is regarded as the important thing. And it is just this which is so foreign to modern ideas. For, though we regard high notes on the violin or voice as emotionally exciting, we do not regard certain modes as specially appropriate to certain registers of the voice.

Some modern writers have regarded the attribution of ethical characteristics to certain modes as in itself extravagant. No one familiar with folk-music would uphold this view. The rich, sensuous softness of the Mixolydian, the stern reserve of the Aeolian and the salt sea smack of the Dorian are all unmistakeable. But the folk-singer does not sing his Mixolydian love-songs in a low key because they are tender. He sings them at the pitch which he finds convenient to his voice. And, as for small differences of a tone or semitone in pitch, the vast majority even of musical people, so far from being emotionally disturbed by them, simply cannot perceive them at all. Not one modern music lover in a hundred can tell when a piano is a tone flat or sharp. Yet to a Greek the difference was easily perceived and vital. For in Plato's time, when the *παναρμόνιον* (the scale or instrument comprising all the modes), was a modern, and in his opinion a dangerous innovation, and when pieces of music were normally composed in a single mode, without modulation, the difference between two octave compasses differing in pitch was readily perceived and emotionally significant. We are thus driven to the extraordinary conclusion that, though the music of the Greeks was infinitely less developed in most respects than our own, they yet possessed two qualities which we lack—a fineness of ear which enabled them to sing quarter tones, and the faculty of absolute pitch.

We must be careful, however, not to push our conclusions too far. It has commonly been further assumed that every mode differed in pitch from every other. But it is important to note that this assumption is not strictly warranted. All we are told is that some modes are high, some moderate, and some low. And it is quite possible, for instance, that, while by convention Mixolydian and Lydian tunes were alike sung high, Mixolydian tunes were not of necessity sung higher than Lydian.

It is doubtful whether, without the aid of additional evidence, the problem discussed in the preceding pages will ever be incontrovertibly solved. No writer hitherto has succeeded in explaining all the various statements of the authorities. Advance can only be made, if at all, by a rigid impartiality in estimating the evidence. Since here, if anywhere, the eclectic method can prove anything, or rather can prove nothing at all.

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## THE ARGUMENT OF PLATO, *PROTAGORAS*, 351<sup>b</sup>-356<sup>c</sup>.

AT the beginning of ch. xxv (351<sup>b</sup>) Socrates starts once more to prove his contention that courage is a form of wisdom. He begins by asking Protagoras whether pleasure is not always in itself good, pain in itself evil. Protagoras is not prepared to admit this, but he is willing to accept the position as a basis for discussion. Socrates then asks a second question (352<sup>a</sup> 8) : does Protagoras, like most people, think that knowledge has no power or authority in the soul? does he think that knowledge may be present and yet not operative, being knocked about like a slave by the superior force of anger, pleasure, or passion? Must we not rather believe that knowledge can be conquered by nothing and is alone sufficient to salvation? On this point Protagoras professes agreement with Socrates: the superior force, he agrees, must be on the side of knowledge or wisdom. Socrates however points out that the defenders of the ordinary view may fairly ask them to give their account of the state of mind commonly described as being so overcome by pleasure (*ιπτὸ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἡττᾶσθαι*) as not to do what is best and is known to be best. And since the enquiry is likely to suggest an answer to the problem about courage, they agree to undertake it.

Socrates now (353<sup>c</sup>) enters upon a dialogue with these imaginary opponents, getting them to admit that the pleasure which is wrongly chosen in such a case is bad, not because it is pleasant, but because it involves subsequent pain and inconvenience; and, similarly, that the right and painful course of action is good, not because it is immediately painful, but because it involves subsequent pleasure and convenience. Thus the good is reducible to pleasure, the bad to pain; and pleasure is said to be bad only when it deprives one of greater pleasures than any which it possesses itself, or produces pains greater than the pleasures which it contains (*καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ χαίρειν τότε λέγετε κακὸν εἶναι, ὅταν μειζόνων ἡδονῶν ἀποστερῇ η ὅσας αὐτὸ ἔχει, η λύπας μείζους παρασκενάζῃ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ἡδονῶν*). In analogous conditions pain may be said to be good.

The point of all this, Socrates goes on to say (354<sup>e</sup>), is to show what really happens when a man is said to be overcome by pleasure. He maintains that, on the hypothesis that the good is ultimately the pleasant, the bad the painful, the usual account of the matter is plainly ridiculous. It is said that the inducement or excitement of pleasure often leads a man, to whom other courses of action are open, to do what he recognizes as bad; or again that this same power of the immediate pleasure so overcomes a man that he refuses

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to do what he recognizes as good. Now it has been admitted that good means pleasant and bad means painful. In the interests of clearness then let us use only one of these pairs of terms at a time.

Using, first, the pair 'good' and 'bad' (355c), we shall get the statement: 'a man, recognizing bad as bad, nevertheless does it because he is overcome by—good!' But this will be laughed at. We shall have to explain, if asked, that the good in question did not deserve to beat the bad (*οὐκ ἀξέων ὅντων νικᾶν τὰ κακά*)—otherwise where would be the error?—and desert in such a case must be simply a matter of relative size or quantity (*μείζω, συμπρότερα: πλείω, ἐλάττω*). From this it follows that 'being overcome' is *ἀντὶ ἐλαττόνων ὕγαθών μείζῳ κακῷ λαμβάνειν*.

Using, secondly, the pair of terms 'pleasant' and 'painful' (355e 4), we shall say: 'a man does what he recognizes as painful, because he is overcome by pleasant things which obviously didn't deserve to win' (*ἀναξέων ὅντων νικᾶν*). And this want of desert means a too much or a too little: it is a question of size, quantity, or degree. And if it be urged that it makes a difference whether the pleasure is immediate or deferred, the answer is that this difference too must be capable of expression in terms of pleasure and pain. Anyone who knows how to weigh, if you give him a pair of scales, can do the sum. Of two lots of pleasure, you take the greater or the greater sum; of two lots of pain, the less or smaller sum. Where pleasures are measured against pains, a course of action which shows a surplus on the side of pleasure (immediate and deferred being alike reckoned) will be chosen, and one which shows a balance on the side of pain will be refused.

All that is required then is an art or science of measurement, and it is for lack of that that men fall into error. Socrates thus proves that all error in conduct is due to ignorance, and (ultimately) that courage is a form of wisdom.

In the latter part of this argument Socrates reduces the ordinary description of what Aristotle called *ἀκρασία* to absurdity by stating it, as he is entitled to do on his hypothesis, first in terms of good and bad only, and then in terms of pleasant and painful only. Each section begins with a statement which is *γελοῖον*, and proceeds by degrees to give it a more reasonable form: the latter part of each section gives the true account of what happens. As to the steps of the argument certain difficulties have been raised, and the customary statement of the conclusion seems to me to be plainly incorrect.

Adam, in his edition of the *Protagoras* (p. 182), summarizes the argument as follows:

If we substitute 'good' for 'pleasure,' the common saying that we do evil, knowing it to be evil, because overcome by 'pleasure,' becomes 'we do evil knowing it to be evil, because overcome by good' (355 B-C). 'To be overcome by good' is shewn to be the choosing of greater evil in place of lesser good<sup>1</sup> (D-E). Similarly, substituting pleasure for good, we have the sentiment 'we do pleasure, knowing it to be pleasure ['pleasure' here is a slip:<sup>2</sup> 'pain' should be read], because overcome by pleasure,' and here also 'to be over-

<sup>1</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>2</sup> Corrected in more recent issues.

come by pleasure' is to choose in place of lesser pleasures greater pains<sup>1</sup> (355 D-356 A).

In his note on 355d 4 (*ἐν ὑμῖν*) Adam writes:

The idea is of a conflict between the good and evil in the soul before you do the evil . . . The subtle reasoning which follows may be put thus: We do evil, knowing it to be evil, because we are overcome by good. But—since that which we do is evil—the good which overcomes is less worthy than the evil in us which it overcomes. 'Less worthy' (to overcome) means that 'there is less of it'; to be overcome by good is therefore to choose less good than evil.<sup>1</sup> The argument is extraordinarily ingenious but hardly sound—the flaw lies in substituting 'the evil in us' for 'us': it was not 'the evil in us,' but 'we' who were overcome by good.

The argument outlined in this note appears to me to be neither subtle nor ingenious, but merely nonsensical. The ingenuity of substituting 'the evil in us' for 'us' might be appreciated if 'the evil in us' either had any obvious relevance in itself or contributed anything to the proof of the conclusion. It is clear that good and evil throughout this passage qualify a course of action, actual or contemplated, and its consequences, and nothing else. 'The evil in us' then may be dismissed. The statement of the conclusion (i.e. the true description of *ἀκρασία*) is also unsatisfactory. The phrase indeed which I have italicized in the note quoted, might pass (but if it is right, it must be by accident, to judge from the rest of the statement), but the phrases used in the summary of the argument are totally meaningless. I have tried, but I cannot represent to myself the state of mind of a man who chooses 'greater evil in place of lesser good' or 'greater pains in place of lesser pleasures.' Greater than what? lesser than what? There seems to be no answer. Nor have I any more success with Jowett's version, 'you choose the greater evil in exchange for the lesser good.' If evil is a minus quantity of good, as the theory seems to suppose, the greater evil might also be called the lesser good, and choice between them is impossible.

The words in which the conclusion is stated are *ἄντι ἐλαττόνων ἀγαθῶν μείζω κακὰ λαμβάνειν*; and it is quite plain that, if the *ἀγαθῶν* are those of the rejected alternative and the *κακά* are those of the course of action actually adopted, the qualifications *μείζω* and *ἐλαττόνων* are useless, and the phrase as a whole means nothing. The only alternative to this interpretation is to suppose that the *ἀγαθῶν* and the *κακά* belong to one and the same course of action. In that case the phrase will have to mean 'to accept too much evil as the price of (or in order to get) too little good.' It may be observed that this obviously accords with the context. Pleasure is bad, we were told before, when it produces pains (=evil) greater than the pleasures (=good) which it contains (354c 8); and, in the description of 'measuring' which follows, pleasures are set in one scale and pains in another when these are involved in one and the same course of action (356b 5). '*Ἄντι*' is used of compensation. The noun in the genitive which follows it is the *compensating good*, as in *Lysis 208e* (*ἀλλ' ἄντι τίνος μὴν οὕτω σε δευτέρους εἰδαιμονα εἴναι;*). It

<sup>1</sup> Italics mine.

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might equally well have been the bad compensated, as in *Phaedrus* 255e (*ἀντὶ τῶν πολλῶν πόνων σμικρὰ ἀπολαύσαι*). Plato could in fact have written, without altering the meaning, *ἀντὶ μειζόνων κακῶν ἀλάττῳ ἀγαθῇ λαμβάνειν*. The notion of weighing or compensation is fundamental. When, in deliberation, A is weighed against B, it sometimes happens (i.e. in choosing between two goods or between two evils) that A and B are alternatives, but it does not follow that the only function of *ἀντί* in reference to deliberate choice is that of excluding an alternative. There are other passages besides this in which commentators have gone wrong by confining *ἀντί* to this exclusive or disjunctive function.

So much as to the meaning of the conclusion. Now for the argument on which it depends. It is not very difficult to see that the sharp practice detected by Adam at 355d 3 is an illusion. Adam's difficulty lies in the transition from the statement, 'A man overcome (*ἡττώμενος*) by good does what he knows to be bad,' to the question, 'Did that good deserve to beat (*νικᾶν*) that bad?' (His interpretation of the words *ἐν ίμην* is clearly wrong, but it makes no difference to the argument.) The statement describes a victory of a good over an agent, while the question interprets this as a victory of a good over a bad. 'Bad' here in Adam's view is a subtle but inaccurate substitute for 'wrong-acting agent.' It should be remembered, however, that it has been agreed that the pursuit of good is wrong only when it involves bad which outweighs the good (354c 5), and that in the case analyzed the pursuit of good was wrong. Previous admissions therefore justify the assertion that the act contained bad outweighing its good. This bad should have determined the agent's will to refusal of the act, whereas in fact the good determined it to acceptance. In other words, the bad in the act weighed more in fact, but the good in the act weighed more with the agent: or, in Plato's words, the good beat (outweighed) a bad which it did not deserve to beat (*ἡττώμενος ἵπδ τῶν ἀγαθῶν . . . οὐκ ἀξίω ὅντων νικᾶν . . . τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ κακά*). The argument is therefore slightly elliptical, but sound. Adam was misled by supposing that *νικᾶν* and *ἡττᾶσθαι* were correlative descriptions of the same conflict, whereas *ἡττᾶσθαι* refers to the weakness of the judgment of the agent, who is unable to keep the balance equal as between the good and bad which compete for his attention in the proposed act. The good and bad are rivals or competitors, of whom one may be said to beat the other, and to be stronger or larger or heavier than the other; but a proposed action is not the rival of an agent and cannot be compared with him in respect of strength or size or weight.

I therefore claim that the suggested reinterpretation of the conclusion removes all difficulties in the argument which leads up to it.

#### NOTE.

Cases in which the noun following *ἀντί* is a 'good' regarded as compensating for the 'bad' in the course of action chosen, i.e. as making desirable a course of action otherwise undesirable.

1. Soph. *Electra*, 585 εἰ γὰρ θέλεις δίδαξον ἀνθ' ὅτου τὰ νῦν αἰσχυστα πάντων ἔργα δρῶσα τυγχάνεις.
2. Soph. *Antigone*, 185 οὐδὲ ἀν σωπήσαιμι τὴν ἄτην ὡρᾶν στείχουσαν ἀστοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς σωτηρίας.
3. Plato, *Menexenus*, 237a τὴν τελείτην ἀντὶ τῆς τῶν ζόντων σωτηρίας ἥλλαξαντο.
4. Plato, *Lysis*, 208e ἀλλ' ἀντί τίνος μὴν οὕτω σε δεινώς διακωλύσουσιν εὑδαιμονα εἴναι;
5. Plato, *Phaedo*, 69a μὴ γάρ οὐχ ἀντη ὃ ἡ ὁρθὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀλλαγή, ... ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκεῖνο μόνον τὸ νόμοσμα ὁρθόν, ἀντὶ οὐ δεῖ πάντα ταῦτα καταλλάττεσθαι, φρόνησις.

In No. 2 Jebb takes ἀντὶ to mean 'instead of,' so that ἄτην ἀντὶ σωτηρίας means 'ruin and not welfare.' Whitelaw's version—'nor for the safety's sake would I keep silence, and see the ruin on my country fall'—is far more pointed. Personal safety is suggested as the motive for silence, where speech would avert the country's ruin. Or, in other words, personal safety is the compensating good in a course of action involving the country's ruin. In No. 1 similarly a motive is asked for, i.e. a compensating good secured. In No. 3 the agent's motive for accepting death is that his death secures the safety of others. No. 4 asks, 'what is gained by all this strict discipline?' and in No. 5 Socrates advises men to give up anything and everything in order to gain wisdom. Similarly in the passage before us the ἀγαθά are the motive (and, being ἐλάττονα, an inadequate motive) for accepting the κακά.

Perhaps the clearest case, both of the use itself and of the shifts to which scholars resort to avoid recognizing it, is in Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* Γ i. I give the Greek followed by Peters' translation.

ΙΙΙΟΑ 19 ἐνὶ ταῖς πράξεσι δὲ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐνιοτε καὶ ἐπαινοῦνται, ὅταν αἰσχρόν τι ἡ λυπήρον ὑπομένωσιν ἀντὶ μεγάλων καὶ καλῶν.

'in order to secure some great and noble result.'

ΙΙΙΟΑ 30 ἔστι δὲ χαλεπὸν ἐνιοτε διακρίναι ποῖον ἀντὶ ποίου αἰρετέον καὶ τί ἀντὶ τίνος ὑπομενετέον.

'it is sometimes hard to decide whether we ought to do this deed to avoid this evil, or whether we ought to endure this evil rather than do this deed.'

ΙΙΙΟΒ 3 ἀ δὲ καθ' αἰτὰ μὲν ἀκούσια ἔστι, νῦν δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ τῶνδε αἰρετά,  
... καθ' αἰτὰ μὲν ἀκούσια ἔστι, νῦν δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ τῶνδε  
ἔκούσια.

'in preference to this alternative' (twice).

There can be no doubt that in each case Aristotle intended by the preposition ἀντὶ a relation not between alternative actions but between the advantages and disadvantages contained in a single proposed course of action.

J. L. STOCKS.

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## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS ON LATIN AUTHORS.

(Continued from p. 57.)

## (4) HORACE, continued.

*Od. III. 30. 10-14.*

dicar, qua violens obstrepit Aufidus,  
 et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium  
 regnauit populorum ex humili potens,  
 princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos  
 deduxisse modos.

Like everyone else, I was brought up to repeat that *regnauit populorum* is a 'Greek genitive= *ἡρξὲ λαῶν*' If one shrinks from depriving examination-papers of this interesting idiom, he may be consoled by remembering that *abstineto irarum* and *desine querelarum* are still left. Why should not *populorum* depend in a normal manner upon *potens* (cf. *diua potens Cypri*)? Surely the sense is improved by the antithesis *pauper aquae, potens agrestium populorum*. 'Where Daunus, scant of water, ruled rustic peoples' contains a somewhat cold pedantry, which is at least partially relieved by the fuller description. I find it difficult to understand why so many scholars prefer to make *ex humili potens* refer to Horace himself. It is true that the poet is consciously boasting, but (1) the boast is more forcible if we join directly *dicar princeps*, etc.; the 'self-made man' boast obviously comes in less well here than in the context of II. 20. 5; (2) it is in better literary style to describe Daunus in lines 11-12 and leave it to be gathered that the poet intends to suggest 'a predecessor in my own part of the country, whose circumstances were not unlike mine': (3) *potens* is scarcely the tactful word. We should hardly compare IV. 8. 26 *lingua potentium uatum*, where he is speaking of the 'power' or efficacy of great poets in achieving a certain result there specified.

*Od. III. 14. 1.*

Herculis ritu modo dictus, o plebs,  
 morte uenalem petuisse laurum  
 Caesar Hispana repetit penates  
 uictor ab ora.

Wickham (followed by Gow) says, 'No exact parallel is quoted for this use of *plebs* for the whole Roman people.' But there is no need to put any

such constraint upon *plebs*. The words *o plebs* are as much exclamatory as vocative ('O, poor commons!'), and the thought is one which Augustus would appreciate. The main claims of the emperor to power lay in his being at the same time (1) commander of the forces, (2) champion of the popular rights, invested with the *tribunicia potestas*. Horace is thinking of the dangers which might still have resulted (in B.C. 24) to the popular cause, if Augustus had met his death in Spain. As it is, peace and stability are assured (vv. 14 sq.).

## I. 15. 15.

imbelli cithara carmina diuides.

Add to existing interpretations that of 'dividing' the notes in runs or trills, or breaking a syllable on several notes, as in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* 3. 5. 29,

Some say the lark makes sweet division,

and 1 *Henry IV*. 3. 1. 210,

Sung by a fair queen in a summer's bower  
With ravishing division, to her lute.

## A. P. 172.

dilator, spe longus, iners, auidusque futuri.

*Spe* is not 'hope,' nor is the *spes* that of the old man himself. It is 'expectation' or 'waiting' on the part of others. He keeps you waiting a long time for his decision or action. Hence the position of the words between *dilator* and *iners*. He is ἀλπίδι χρόνιος, τὰς ἀλπίδας χρονίζει.

In the following places I venture to suggest new readings:

## Od. I. 6. 1.

scriberis Vario fortis et hostium  
victor Maeonii carminis alite,  
quam rem cumque ferox nauibus aut equis  
miles te duce gesserit.  
nos, Agrippa, etc.

One may dispense with a full repetition of the criticisms justly passed upon this passage. In summary they are: (1) *Vario . . . alite* cannot be abl. of the agent: (2) as abl. abs. '*alite* is too far removed from *Vario*' (Gow), and the turn of expression is unpleasing: (3) the alteration to *aliti* is easy, but 'too much so to be probable' (Wickham). But another and, from a literary point of view, more serious objection has been strangely overlooked. It is that (4) birds do not write. Even though *alite* is metaphorical, it is not like the *curiosa felicitas* of Horace to say *scriberis Vario alite* (or *aliti*).

I believe that the archetype had *alitu* (the later misspelling of *halitu*). *Vario* is, of course, dative. 'In the case of (= by) Varius your warlike prowess

shall be written with (all) the breath (the *spiritus* and *longue haleine* of a Homer. I attempt no such epic effort.' Varius πνεῦ Ὁμηρικόν.

The corruption of *alitu* to *alite* was due to a misunderstanding of the word, encouraged by the fact that the gen. plur. *alitum* pointed to an alternative form *alitus* for *ales*.

*Od. I. 12. 33 sqq.*

Romulum post hos prius, an quietum  
Pompili regnum memorem, an superbos  
Tarquinii fasces, dubito, an Catonis  
nobile letum.  
Regulum et Scauros, etc.

The poet then proceeds with (Aemilius) Paulus, Fabricius, Curius, Camillus, and the Marcelli. The order is not of course strictly chronological, but the examples are all concerned with history comparatively remote. Wickham speaks lightly of the 'leap across Roman history to the death of Cato of Utica.' Gow remarks 'Cato seems incongruous among so many names from ancient history.' But there is also the very serious objection that the *nobile letum* of Cato Uticensis is scarcely one which a professional belauder of Julius Caesar and his adopted son would select for the present purpose. Probably every reader instinctively thinks in the first instance of Cato the Censor. But to him *nobile letum* does not apply.

Existing conjectures on the passage are very unconvincing. Hamacher proposed *an catenis | nobilitatum | Regulum*. Housman's *an catenis (nobile !) laetum Regulum* contains an exclamatory parenthesis of an extremely abrupt and unpleasant kind.

Catonis, I believe, is sound: the faulty word is *letum*. It will be observed that, after his familiar manner, Horace has *quietum Pompili regnum* for *Pompilium, regem quietum*, and *superbos Tarquinii fasces* for *Tarquinium, tyrannum superbum*. If, therefore, he desired to express in the same manner *Catonem, censorem nobilem*, he would do so in the form

an Catonis  
nobile lustrum.

[The error in *letum* may be due, at least in part, to the preceding *-le.*]

*Od. III. 4. 37.*

uos Caesarem altum, militia simul  
fessas cohortes abdidit oppidis,  
finire quaerentem labores  
Pierio recreatis antro.

The variants to *abdidit* are *addidit* and *reddidit*. Something may easily be said for each of these readings, and I desire to add nothing to the usual notes upon that head. The question is not however as to an appropriate sense for any of these words, but as to the origin of the variation. Each word is

sufficiently good in itself to have held its place, and we can only assume that in an archetype some accident had occurred to the letters immediately following *cohortes*. Doubtless the accident may have been a mere blot; but I would rather suggest that in the combination COHORTESSVBDIDIT (*cohortes subdidit*) one -S- was omitted by an oversight and the unintelligible

*cohortes ubdidit*

subsequently emended in various ways.

The word *subdidit* is, I believe, *exquisitus*, and more charged with meaning than any of its substitutes. The military are not only 'attached' to the towns, but they are both 'subjoined' as having lands granted to them in the town-districts, and also 'subjected' to the peaceful administration of the *oppida*. They are submitted to the ordinary rule of civilians, or reduced to the ranks of peace.

### III. 5. 37.

hic, unde vitam sumeret inscius,  
pacem duello miscuit. o pudor!

It is true that *inscius*, though slightly recondite, is translatable enough. But why the variant *aptius*? *Aptius* could not be a mere misreading of *inscius*, nor vice versa. It appears necessary to look for a common source. On the one hand the confusion of *t* with *c* or *s* (due to pronunciation), and on the other the frequent metathesis of *sc* for *cs* (as of *sp* for *ps*) lead me to an original *anscius*, which passed through a meaningless *anscius* into *inscius* on the one hand and *aptius* on the other. In the preceding line we have *timuitque mortem*, and in keeping with this are the words 'his (sole) anxiety was how to save his life.' The omission (or rather implication) of *tantum* (like that of *μόνον*) is of the commonest, the word being rendered unnecessary by emphasis on the verbal expression. Here *uitam sumeret* (and particularly *uitam*) is to be stressed.

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## MANILIUS, AVGUSTVS, TIBERIVS, CAPRICORNVS, AND LIBRA.

'THE date of the poem has been canvassed with merciless prolixity for the last four-and-twenty years, but the pertinent facts are few.' So I wrote in 1903 on p. lxix of my edition of the first book of Manilius; and in two octavo pages and a half I collected all those facts, said all that I could find to say on both sides of the questions in dispute, and drew the conclusion that books I and II were written under Augustus and book IV under Tiberius. Ten years have passed, and the prolixity has continued, but the prolix have added no pertinent fact to those which I collected: some of them have even subtracted one, by suppressing the numismatic evidence, which I duly recorded, that Tiberius had Libra for his star.

The occasion of the present paper is not any of these disputationes, but some remarks on Man. II 507-9 by Prof. J. G. Smyly in *Hermathena* for 1912, pp. 150-9. I dissent from one of Mr Smyly's main contentions, and I shall show that in some particulars he is much mistaken; but I think that he has solved the difficulty which he set out to solve, and also, unknown to himself, another.

For determining the date of Manilius' several books we depend in part upon his allusions to the nativity of one or more Caesars. What I myself have now to say will concern the nativity of Tiberius and the date of book IV; but first I will report the conclusions of Mr Smyly, which have reference to neither of these subjects but to the nativity of Augustus.

That the sign of Capricorn was known and famed as Augustus' natal star is shown by Man. II 507-9 'Capricornus in ipsum | conuertit uisus, quid enim mirabitur ille | maius, in Augusti felix cum fulserit ortum?', by Germ. *phaen.* 558-60 'hic (Capricornus), Auguste, tuum genitali corpore numen | attonitas inter gentis patriamque pauentem | in caelum tulit et maternis reddidit astris,' by Suet. *Aug.* 94. 12 'tantam mox fiduciam fati Augustus habuit, ut thema suum vulgauerit nummumque argenteum nota sideris Capricorni, quo natus est, percuesserit,' and by extant coins with the head of Augustus on one face and the figure of Capricorn on the other.<sup>1</sup> Now a man's natal star, for astrologers in general, is that sign of the zodiac which at the moment of his birth is rising in the east and which is technically termed his *horoscope*. But

<sup>1</sup> Readers of Horace may like to know that Mr Bouché-Leclercq has discovered yet another piece of evidence in *carm.* I 12 50: *astr. Gr.* p. 374 'Cf. le mot d'Horace: *Orie Saturno,* *w étant la maison de h.'*

Suetonius *Aug.* 5 says 'natus est Augustus M. Tullio Cicerone C. Antonio coss. ix kal. Oct. paulo ante solis exortum'; and if Augustus was born at that hour of that day of the year 63 B.C. his horoscope cannot have been Capricorn and was almost certainly Libra. Moreover Manilius himself at IV 547-52 has these lines:

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sed, cum autumnales cooperunt surgere Chelae,  
felix aequato genitus sub pondere Librae :  
iudex examen sistet uitaeque necisque  
imponetque iugum terris legesque rogabit.  
illum urbes et regna trement nutuque regentur  
unius, et caeli post terras iura manebunt. 550

Here a career which might be that of Augustus is traced from a position of Libra which the sign appears to have occupied at Augustus' birth. For at that hour, so far as we can ascertain, Libra was just beginning to rise: *cooperunt surgere Chelae*. Even the epithet *autumnales*, though suitable under any circumstances to this equinoctial sign, will have special force if the person meant was born in September.<sup>1</sup> The verses therefore are quite consonant with the verdict of astronomy and chronology that Augustus' horoscope in truth was Libra. Yet he and all the world believed that he was born under Capricorn. Can one man have two natal stars?

This has hitherto been hard to believe, and attempts to make it probable have failed;<sup>2</sup> but Mr Smyly has tried again and seems to me to have succeeded. He points out that although, in the usual language of astrology, a man's natal star is the sign which was rising at his birth, there survive relics of another opinion, that it was the sign then occupied by the Moon.<sup>3</sup> The words of

<sup>1</sup> The anecdote in Suet. *Aug.* 94.5, 'quo natus est die, cum de Catilinae coniuratione ageretur in curia et Octavius ob uxoris puerperium seruis affuisse, nota ac vulgata res est P. Nigidium comperta morae causa, ut horam quoque partus accepit, affirmasse dominum terrarum orbium natum,' which answers well in other respects to the words of Manilius, has something wrong with it; for the reference to Catiline's conspiracy, vague though it is, will not square with the month of September. Virgil's suggestion in *georg.* I 32-5 that Augustus may choose Libra for his seat in heaven, though it possibly implies a link between the man and the sign, can easily be explained without assuming any.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Smyly on p. 151 says that I made one of these attempts: 'Mr Housman and the Germans try to escape from this difficulty by asserting that Libra was the Sign of his birth, and Capricorn that of his conception.' I neither asserted this nor tried in any way to escape from the difficulty: I said, like Mr Smyly himself, that this hypothesis was possible, and I objected, like him, that it was ineffectual.

<sup>3</sup> Mr Smyly on pp. 152-6 goes further, and suggests that for Nigidius, who cast Augustus' nativity on the day of his birth, and even for Manilius, the horoscope was not, as it is for later astrologers, the determining factor in the geniture. Suetonius however, in telling the story about Nigidius, implies the contrary; for he says that Nigidius broke out into his prophecy upon hearing the *loux* of the infant's birth. His prophecy therefore was founded on some brief and passing condition of the heavens, like the rising of the horoscope, not on a condition of more than two days' duration, like the Moon's sojourn in a sign. As to Manilius himself, it is true, as Mr Smyly says, that he nowhere distinctly affirms the predominance of the horoscope in nativities. But he does distinctly imply it, and especially in the passage which Mr Smyly cites on p. 154 to prove the contrary. In IV 122-29x Manilius has described the influence of the twelve signs on the characters of men, without saying when or where they exert it; then in 292-408 he explains how each sign is divided into three decans; and then in 409-501 he runs through the thirty *parus* or

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Cicero which I quoted at Man. II 726, *de diu.* II 91 'cum, ut ipsi dicunt, ortus nascentium Luna moderetur, eaque animaduertant et notent sidera natalicia Chaldae, quaecumque Lunae iuncta uideantur,' do not perhaps go quite so far as this; but Mr Smyly's point is fairly proved by a comparison of the three passages cited on p. xxix of my edition of book I: Man. IV 773 'Libra . . . qua condita Roma,' Cic. *de diu.* II 98 'L. Tarutius Firmanus . . . Romam, cum in Iugo esset Luna, natam esse dicebat,' Solin. I 18 'Romulus . . . fundamenta iecit . . . Sole in Tauro, Luna in Libra constitutis.' Evidently, when Manilius said that Rome was founded under Libra, he meant that Libra, at Rome's foundation, was occupied by the Moon. If therefore the Moon was in Capricorn at Augustus' birth, Manilius could consistently say, as he and everyone else did say, that Augustus was born under Capricorn. And Mr Smyly shows on p. 158 that at the date given, 'M. Tullio Cicerone C. Antonio coss. ix kal. Oct. paulo ante solis exortum,' the Moon must have been in Capricorn or very near it.<sup>1</sup> It seems therefore that both Capricorn and Libra were entitled to be called Augustus' stars; and Manilius, though he assigns the honour to Capricorn in II 507-9, may well have assigned it to Libra in IV 547-52.

This explanation removes one of the reasons which I formerly gave for thinking that Augustus was dead when book IV was writing. Because in that book we find Capricorn begetting no nobler progeny than miners and smiths and clothiers at 243-55 and sailors at 568-70 and young men who give their strength to women at 257 sq. I inferred that Augustus had quitted the earth and left Manilius no motive for saying more of Capricorn than he found in

degrees of each sign, distinguishing the bad from the good. Now, in 502 sqq., he begins to speak of something else:

ne te perceptis signorum cura relinquat  
partibus; in tempus quaedam mutantur et ortu  
accipiunt proprias uires ultraque remittunt.  
Mr Smyly, like Fays and all other editors whose opinion is discoverable, like Mr Bouché-Léclercq *astr. Gr.* p. 385, and like the author of the titles in the archetype, who headed this paragraph with 'orientia signa quid efficiant,' understands *quaedam* to mean *quædam signa*; and thence he derives an argument which would be just and cogent if this opinion were true, but which falls to the ground if it is false. And false it is. *quædam signa* will not make sense, for Manilius in 505-8a proceeds to speak not of *quædam* but of *omnia signa*. Moreover the whole paragraph will then be out of place, and ought to have followed upon 122-291. It is certain and should be evident that *quædam* means *quædam partes*. After describing in 409-501 the permanent quality of the degrees in each sign, Manilius now describes changes which some of those degrees undergo as they surmount the eastern horizon. The degrees in question are those at the beginning of Aries Taurus Leo Virgo Libra Aquarius

and Pisces, the end of Scorpius and Capricorn, and the middle of Gemini Cancer and Sagittarius. Now the powers which they wield when rising are in some instances tremendous: they beget an Augustus or a Hannibal. This could not be, unless the horoscope, the region of the eastern horizon, possessed predominance. The whole of book V points the same way.

There are several errors of less moment in this part of Mr Smyly's paper. His interpretation of IV 144 has nothing in its favour: Manilius tells us that Taurus creates farmers, and he remarks, very aptly indeed, that in spring-time, when the sun with Taurus rides, a farmer has plenty to do. Mr Smyly says of verses 162-4 that unless they mean what he thinks they 'are purely ornamental and misleading': they are purely ornamental, but Mr Smyly seems to be the first whom they have misled; and his sentence about *fulgens* confuses that word with *ardens* or *fervens* and confuses Cancer with the *refulver*. What he says of *mores* on p. 156 is contradicted by Manilius at II 83x, V 127, 236, 349.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Smyly interprets ix kal. Oct. as Sept. 22nd: it is more commonly identified with Sept. 23rd.

the manuals of his art. But in these verses of book IV it is only as a horoscope that Capricorn comes upon the scene; and if he was not Augustus' horoscope there was no cause why Manilius, even in Augustus' reign, should extol him in that capacity.

Nor does what is said of Libra in IV 548-52 determine or help to determine the date of the book. Those verses may possibly refer to Tiberius, for there is independent evidence that Libra was in some sense his star; and if they do refer to him they can only have been written when Augustus was dead. But also they may refer to Augustus, and they agree more closely with what is known about his birth than with anything known about the birth of Tiberius; and if they refer to Augustus they cannot help to date book IV, unless indeed we like to say that the words 'caeli post terras iura manebunt' will gain in force if the emperor meant was already dead and deified.

The sole internal evidence for the date of book IV is contained in verses 763-6 and 773-7; for its last lines 933-5, from which one faction infers that Augustus was living and another that he was dead, are equally compatible with either hypothesis. The first of these passages I discussed on p. lxxi of my edition of book I, where I argued that the words 'Rhodos, hospitium recturi principis orbem, | tumque domus uere Solis, cui tota sacra est, | cum caperet lumen magni sub Caesare mundi' could only mean 'Rhodes, the sojourn of him who was one day to rule the world, and in very truth the Sun's abode at that time when the lamp of the universe, in the person of our emperor, was within her gates.' If this is so, Tiberius was reigning when Manilius wrote. The second passage, 773-7, is the following:

775

Hesperiam sua Libra tenet, qua condita Roma  
orbis et imperium<sup>1</sup> retinet discrimina rerum  
lancibus et positas gentes tollitque premisque,  
†qua genitus Caesarque meus nunc condidit orbem  
et propriis frenat pendentem nutibus orbem.

I give the corrupt verse 776 as it appears in M, postponing the variants. Under Libra, says Manilius, was founded Rome; under Libra was born Caesar, who now governs a world which hangs upon his nod. This Caesar therefore is now reigning; and, since 763-6 showed Tiberius to be reigning, this Caesar is Tiberius. And that Libra was Tiberius' star appears from the Pontic coin of Queen Pythodoris which I mentioned when discussing this question in 1903. But Mr Smyly's observations on Capricorn and Augustus have shown me how to clear these lines of an awkwardness which always made me unhappy. The words 'qua condita Roma,' as we know from the passages I cited above on p. 111, mean that the Moon was in Libra when Rome was founded. If then the words 'qua genitus Caesar' mean that Tiberius had Libra for his horoscope, the balance is awry; one would expect them to mean

<sup>1</sup> *imperium* is nominative and the construction is 'condita Roma et conditum orbis imperium'; see Flor. II 34 'an quia condidisset imperium Romulus uocaretur' and Sen. *de bon.* III 37 'conditores Romani imperii.'

that the Moon was in Libra when Tiberius was born. And so they do. Suetonius *Tib.* 5 relates that Tiberius was born on Nov. 16th 42 B.C.: 'ut plures certioresque tradunt, natus est Romae in Palatio xvi kal. Dec. M. Aemilio Lepido iterum L. Munatio Plancus coss. per bellum Philippense. sic enim in fastos actaque in publica relatum est.' On that day the Moon was in Libra.

Mr Smyly's definition of the Moon's place on Augustus' birthday is ratified by this coincidence. Astronomy numismatics and literature all point one way: the relation of Libra to Tiberius was the same as that of Capricorn to Augustus, and these are the two signs which the Moon was traversing when the two emperors were born.

Now I return to the details of IV 776.

qua genitus Caesar melius nunc condidit urbem.

*caesar melius* scripsi anno 1903 in ed. Man. lib. I pp. xxix sq., *caesarque meus* M, *meus* L, *cum fratre remus* GL<sup>2</sup>. *nunc* LM, *hanc* GL<sup>2</sup>. *urbem* GL<sup>2</sup>, *orbem* LM. Manilius could neither call Tiberius 'Caesar meus' nor write 'qua genitus Caesarque meus' instead of 'quaque meus Caesar genitus'; 'condidit orbem' has no sense, and the sense of 'condidit urbem' requires an adverb, whether 'melius' or 'rursus' or another. *melius* or *meus* shrank to *meus* as *mens* has swelled to *melius* at Mart. VII 87 1, and the archetype had *caesar mens*: one apograph inserted *que* for metre; in the other *caesar* was half obliterated, so that L omits it and the interpolator of GL<sup>2</sup> made what was left of *caesa rmeus* into *cum fratre remus*. I showed that a similar compliment was paid not only to Augustus, who deserved it better than Tiberius, but to Caligula, who deserved it less: Suet. *Calig.* 16 4 'decretrum autem ut dies, quo cepisset imperium, Parilia uocaretur, uelut argumentum *rursus conditae urbis*.' It is true that Tiberius was no great builder, 'princeps nulla opera magnifica fecit' says Suetonius; but that did not prevent Velleius from saying 'quanta suo suorumque nomine extruxit opera!' Moreover there are other ways of founding cities than building, as may be seen from what Livy says of Numa, I 19 1 'urbem nouam, conditam ui et armis, iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat.' Indeed in Augustus' own case the proposal to name him Romulus 'quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis' (Suet. *Aug.* 7 2) was made before 27 B.C., when he had hardly begun his transformation of the brick city to marble; while Caligula was supposed to have founded Rome anew by simply ascending the throne. Manilius himself confers the title not only on Camillus but on Brutus, who never laid one stone upon another: I 784-6 'et Ioue qui meruit caelum Romamque Camillus | seruando posuit, Brutusque a rege receptae | conditor.'

Readers who use the text of Bechert or of Breiter will be wondering why I ignore a remarkable variant which figures in their notes. That M in this verse had *possidet* for *condidit* was reported in the *Classical Review* for 1894 p. 141; and we all believed it, Mr Bechert in 1900, I myself in 1903. But in

1907 I got hold of Loewe's collation and found him noting no variant against *condidit*; and in the *Classical Quarterly* vol. I pp. 294 sq. I published my suspicion that *possidet* was only a phantom. Breiter, having the same facts before him, came to the opposite conclusion; and although he had said on p. iv 'aliquot locis Löwe et Ellis discrepant, quod indicandum putau,' he here gave no such warning, and simply stated that M read *possidet*.<sup>1</sup> I now have photographs of the MS, and they show that M reads *condidit* just like G and L.

This makes no difference to me; for in 1903, *Man. lib.* I p. xxix, long before I knew whose interpolation *possidet* was, I said that it was an interpolation. But it makes a difference to scholars like Mr E. Bickel, who do not know an interpolation when they see one. Mr Bickel, *Rhein. Mus.* 1910 pp. 233 sqq., seized upon this false reading, and spun out of it the false conjecture 'qua genitus Caesarque deus nunc possidet urbem,' because of his opinion 'ducem fidelissimum in Manilio restituendo esse codicem Matritensem,' non rationem et rem ipsam. That he mistook *possidet* for the reading of the Matritensis was the fault of others, but it was his own fault that he mistook it for the writing of Manilius. This error he can now repair, and there is no harm done; but the accident is timely and ought to be instructive. The Matritensis is full of things which are just as false as this spectral *possidet* and yet will seem just as true to Mr Bickel and the rest of its acolytes. A MS is a blind leader, and when a blind leader has a blind follower they both fall into the ditch. One thing is needful, and that is to know chalk from cheese.

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<sup>1</sup> His report of the reading of L in this verse already given it correctly, contains two errors, though Mr Bechert had

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## NOTES ON FESTVS.

In the Teubner edition, just published, I had to reduce the *apparatus criticus* to the smallest possible dimensions. All conjectures that were merely probable and not fairly certain had to be excluded. Some of them that are new may find a place here.

There is only one MS. of Festus' epitome of Verrius. It is now at Naples, and is said to have been found in Illyria. Dr. E. A. Loew, the leading authority on Italian script, tells us that it was written at Rome towards the end of the eleventh century. It must have been rescued (in Illyria?) from a fire; for the outer edges of all the pages are burned away, so that the greater part of the outer of the two columns on each page has been lost. The chief task for editors is to fill up by conjecture these gaps in the outer columns. Scaliger won immortal fame in this work, although many of his conjectures merely followed out a suggestion of his predecessor, Augustini. Ursini and Müller were of service in adapting to the conditions of space the stop-gaps of Scaliger, and both of them, chiefly Müller, added excellent conjectures of their own. The conjectural supplements, printed in italics in Müller's edition, have often, especially in German students' dissertations, been treated as if they were actually part of the text. The Hungarian editor, Emil Thewrewk, who first provided satisfactory manuscript material for Paulus' epitome of Festus, in order to prevent this error, took the extreme course of omitting these supplements in his edition; although many of them are made absolutely certain by the words of Paulus. I have taken a middle course between Müller and Thewrewk and have admitted the certain and the probable supplements, leaving blanks elsewhere. The supplements are printed within angular brackets, the merely probable supplements being in italic type.

English scholars will, I hope, turn their attention to Festus, for there is now new material for conjecture. Dr. Loew and Dr. Croenert have re-examined the undecipherable letters in the burnt edges of the Naples MS. and brought us as near certainty as the circumstances allow. And the new advance in Latin Palaeography, led by Traube, has taught us that strict rules must be followed in ascribing abbreviation-symbols to the lost parts of the lines and in dividing the syllables of a word between two lines. These rules are stated in the preface to the new edition.

140 Th. (153 M.) l. 30 Persuasit animo unum, deus qui multo est maximus. Is this from Plautus' *Aulularia*, after line 737 (in the 'ducats and daughter' Scene)?

LY. Déu' mihi impulsór fuit, is me ád illam inlexit. EVC. quó modo?  
 \*persuasit ánimo uinum, déu' qui multo est máximus.

Whether the missing word at the beginning of the line belonged to Euclio or to Lyconides (e.g. quia) is uncertain. The author of the Greek original is unknown:

*οινός μ' ἐπεισε, δαιμόνων ἵπερτατος.*

250 Th. (206 M.) l. 25 (a part of Festus preserved only in Renaissance apographs). Since the apograph (*Vat. lat. 1549*), which marks the lacuna *praeruptus . . . iam*, marks a lacuna wrongly elsewhere, at 260 Th. (213 M.) l. 2 (where the use of *hodieque* in the sense of *hodie* puzzled the scribe), we may venture to ignore the lacuna here and read *praeruptissima*. The same apograph may be wrong in marking a lacuna at 266 Th. (214 M.) l. 16 between *uidentur* and *quo* (for 'in quo').

274 Th. (218 M.) l. 28 (s.v. *Postliminium receptum*). Equi et muli et nauis eadem ratio est postliminium treciptum ist quae serui. Editors change *receptum* *is* into *receptionis*. But since antique forms are often found in the passages which Verrius took from jurists, perhaps *receptuis* (cf. Terence's *anuis*, etc.) is right.

292 Th. (233 M.) l. 1. Possessio est, ut definit Gallus Aelius, usus quidam agri aut aedifici, non ipse fundus aut ager. non enim possessio est . . . rebus quae tangi possunt . . . qui dicit se possidere this ueret potest dicere. itaque in legitimis actionibus nemo tex his quit possessionem suam uocare audet, sed ad interdictum uenit. Possibly *ex his qui* belongs to the preceding sentence: possessio est < nisi in > rebus q. t. p. Ex his qui dicit se poss. is uere p. d. Itaque in leg. act. nemo poss. suam, etc.

298 Th. (234 M.) l. 15. From a part of Cato's speech, in which he alluded to his having saved Romans from the indignity of flogging, comes a quotation which editors print thus: si em percussi, saepe incolumis abii; praeterea pro republica, pro scapulis atque aerario multum reipublicae profuit. The first six words seem to be the utterance of the carnifex, the flogger, and the comma should stand, not after *percussi*, but after *saepe*. 'If I struck a Roman citizen, the law punished me, but if I gave him a round dozen with the lash in my official capacity, I got off scot-free.' This passage cannot be used as evidence that *em* 'eum' was current with Cato (and therefore with Plautus) or even with the lower classes in Cato's time. It is a quotation from the law, i.e. the Twelve Tables, in which *em* was presumably used in the clause which punished assault, just as it was used in the clause which prescribed *antestatio*: *igitur em capito*.

312 Th. (242 M.) l. 28. Dr. Loew has detected the letters *us* before *inpudentiam*. Perhaps: < Cato > in oratione[m] quam scrib< sit in Q. Therum de X hominib>us 'inp. praem.'

326 Th. (249 M.) (s.v. *Procincta classis*) l. 24 *anti* Loew. Perhaps: *anti* <qui enim hominum classem> dixerunt, ut nunc quoque <*classis nauium coe*>tus est. Cf. 281 Th. (225 M.) (s.v. *Procincta classis*) *Vetustius enim fuit multitudinem hominum, quam nauium, classem appellare.*

334 Th. (253 M.) l. 29 *nam quod prodi* Loew. Perhaps: *nam quod prodi* <*t olim, product in praesens ualeat.* Cf. 314 Th. s.v. *Prodidisse.*

342 Th. (257 M.) Paulus has a lemma 'Quintana porta,' for which there seems no room in the Naples MS. of Festus. This MS. has elsewhere omitted lines or words which were present in the lost Monte Cassino MS. of Festus used by Paulus. Probably here a lemma 'Quintanam (-na) portam (-ta)' has been lost (by homoeoarchon) before the lemma 'Quintanam classem.'

372 Th. (273 M.) l. 10. *Per*, the intensive particle, was in early Latin an independent adverb, e.g. *per pol saepe peccas*. Therefore *pertaesus*, *pertenax* (Plaut. *Capt.* 289) are not mere compounds like *perquiro*, *pertinens*; vowel-weakening was therefore inappropriate with them. Lucilius twists Scipio with his affected *pertitus*:

Quo facetior uideare, et scire plus quam ceteri,  
pertitum hominem, non pertaesum tudicere ferum nam genust.

Editors who try to emend the second line seem always to forget that Festus' rule in quoting is to complete the line, whether the sense ends at the end of the line or not, e.g. p. 258 Th. (210 M.) (s.v. *Pedum*) *At tu sume pedum, quod me cum saepe rogaret;* p. 396 Th. (285 M.) (s.v. *Ruri esse*) *Ruri se continebat, ibi agrum de nostro patre;* p. 430 Th. (301 M.) (s.v. *Sospes*) *Maxime Teucrorum ductor, quo sospite numquam.* This consideration opens the way to numerous possibilities, of which one may serve as specimen: *dice; refer unum genus <Collo et mento>.* For old Latin *collus* masc. was replaced by *collum* neut.

378 Th. (274 M.) l. 27 (a line of Pacuvius). Perhaps:

<in saloque>

Pércto, rapidó, reciproco, jángusto citáre retem.

*Retis* 'a net' and *retia*, a Collective noun of the first declension, are old Latin forms which have been last discussed by a young scholar who gives promise of following in the footsteps of Skutsch, Prof. Jacobsohn of Marburg University (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 33, 2786). Priscian attests *retem* in Plaut. *Rud.* 942, 984 (but cf. 985) and *retiam* in 900. Is it because these nouns in -is were originally adjectives that their gender is so variable in old Latin, e.g. *amnis* masc. and fem. (possibly for 'amnis fluuius,' and 'amnis aqua' or the like)? Leo lays too great stress on *pane* in Plaut. *Curt.* 367 (attested as neuter in this line by Nonius and Charisius) in his argument (Plaut. *Forsch.*<sup>2</sup>,

p. 307) that, in Plautine Latin, -*e* replaced -*i*s in nouns as well as verbs (e.g. *loquere* and *loqueris*): 'Plautus hat § mal den Accusativ *panem* und Pers. 471 *binos panes*: ist jenes *pane* glaublich?' Not to mention the probability of an unfamiliar form like *pane* being changed, even by ancient scribes, to the more familiar *panem* (in *Curc.* 367 our MSS. offer *panem*; and the Accusative might be defended), why should Plautus write -*e* for -*i*s without any metrical necessity? The line would scan perfectly well with the dactyl *panis et* in the first foot of the second hemistich:

Átque aliquid prius ópstrudamus, pérnam, sumen, glándium,  
haéc sunt uentris stábilimenta, pánis et assa búbula.

Clearly this is one of the numerous cases where Plautus selects an unusual form. What the motive of his selection is we can never be sure, we can seldom even venture to guess. Here, it is possible (but only possible) that *pane* (neut.) was a vulgar by-form that suited the tone of the passage (cf. the *sinus mihi in cerebrum abit* of the boor in Petronius).

420 Th. (297 M.) (s.v. *Secus*) l. 2. Perhaps: significat enim aperte <aliter; hausecus non> aliter. For Paulus has: *Secus aliter, hausecus non aliter*. And he can hardly be credited with the introduction of *hausecus*.

422 Th. (297 M.) l. 13. If the line of Plautus (*Pers.* 392) was:

Librórūm ecclīlum habēō plenīlum sóracum,

we can account for P's *plenum* and A's *plenum illum*. But the rhythm of the line is not altogether satisfactory. Paulus offers as lemma 'Soracum' (neut.): *Soracum est quo ornamenta portantur scenicorum*; and Sonnenschein (*Class. Rev.* vi. 400) proposed *eccillud* for *ecclīlum*. But Paulus makes many mistakes in epitomizing Festus; e.g. 498, 25 Th. *ludi*, i.e. *ludii*, of Festus becomes *ludos* in Paulus; 510, 24 Th. (in *Amphitryo*) *ne si* of Festus becomes *ne si* in Paulus. And he is capable of turning an Acc. masc. into a Nom. neut. (cf. *Class. Rev.* v. 9). Since the termination *-us* was in many MSS. expressed (in endings like *-cus*, *-lus*) by the same abbreviation-symbol as was in other MSS. used for *-um*, he may here have misread the *Soracus* of his Festus MS., just as (p. 375 M.) *Vngulūs Oscorū lingua anulus* becomes in Paulus *Vngulūm Oscorū lingua significat anulum*. In *Poen.* 314 A seems to read *plelli* where P reads *pleni*. But if Plautus used *plellus*, that is no reason why he may not have used along with it *plenillus* (cf. *pauxillum* beside *paullum*).

ibid. l. 23 Dr. Loew substitutes *e* for the *c* of previous editors. Perhaps: ex e<odem uerbo>, ex e<adem stirpe>, or the like.

432 Th. (302 M.) Has the lemma *Sciscito, sententiam dicito* been omitted by the scribe of the Naples MS. before the lemma *Succidanea hostia*, etc.? Paulus has *dico*, but Festus elsewhere (s.v. *N quis sciuit*): nam sciscito significat sententiam dicito.

verbs (e.g. *Pers.* 471) of an to the more active might by metrical *s et in the*

an unusual we can (e) that *pene* f. the *sinus*

*him aperte ussecus non ecus.*

rhm of the m' (neut.): *hein* (*Class. Rev.* 1913) my mistakes comes *ludos* in Paulus. (*Class. Rev.* 1913) endings like sed for *-um*, (p. 375 M.) *orum lingua* reads *pleni*. used along

Perhaps:

omitted by c. ? Paulus to significat

454 Th. (314 M.) l. 4. In the Plautus quotation Dr. Loew has elicited *tenen* from the burnt edge of the page. If this passage of the *Friolaria* was of the same tenor as *Men.* 87 sqq., a possible supplement would be: *agnina tenen <dust> (scil. parasitus).*

494 Th. (333 M.) (s.u. *Scrutillus*). Perhaps something of this tenor:

Ventér suillus? dí b<oni! si déuolare> in illum,  
ego me hódie e<xcruciandúm darem, nísi com>esa fárte  
biberem ir<neam in promúlsidem scrutilli>.

The last line of the passage was not completed in the quotation.

It has been pointed out above that Festus in his quotations cares more for the completion of the line than of the sense. His normal form is one complete line. So the probability is that Liu. Andr. com. 2 (quoted s.v. *Scenam*) is an iambic Senarius, with a dactyl in the first foot and hiatus at the pause in the sense:

Corruít quasi ictus scéna], haut multó secus.

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#### NOTE ON PLAVTVS.

Professor Leo has now recanted his heresy regarding the corrupt text of the *Truculentus* (see *Classical Quarterly*, January, 1913, p. 4, line 10 from bottom).

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## PLAVTVS, BACCHIDES 107.

THANKS to Prof. Leo and to Prof. Lindsay (*Classical Quarterly*, 1913, p. 1), we know now two important things about this corrupt trochaic line,

Simul huic nescio qui turbare qui huc it<sup>1</sup> decedamus.

First, that the line announces the coming of the chorus, although this chorus utters no words (so the entry XOPOT in Greek fragments of comedies). Secondly, that instead of *turbare* the true reading is *turbae* (the former reading of B), a dative which designates the band of the approaching choreutae. We may guess that the archetype of BCD had *turb<sup>a</sup>e*, the fault *turbare* having sprung from an old TVRB<sup>A</sup>E, in which <sup>A</sup> had been read <sup>B</sup> (see my *Manuel de Critique verbale*, §§ 618 and 1352). The restitution of *turbae* involves two other emendations; the preceding *qui* is to be corrected into *quoī* (of which archaism *qui* is a common corruption), and the following *qui* into *quae* (the error arising from the ambiguous value of a barred *q*).

The amended text seems now to be sufficiently good; still the metre shows that the line remained faulty in two points. The first hemistich is too short, and in the second hemistich a final monosyllable is wanted.

In the first hemistich Lindsay would read *quoīi*, not *quoī*; one might as well suggest *huic*, and also *nesciō* with a long vowel. I, for my part, will accept none of these very handy, too handy hypotheses; nor would I change at random a *me* into a *med*. For, in doublets of this kind, the rarer form seems to be an emphatic one, which the writer uses only with some special intention. I think it much more probable that the actual text, not the orthography or pronunciation alone, is concerned in the problem. And I venture to restore a *nos* before the syllable *nes-*. The presence of *nos* seems to me to be useful in itself, for it answers a natural form of anxiety (what are we now to make of ourselves?). Moreover, as *nos* will separate *huic* from *nescio quoī turbae quae huc it*, it gives great emphasis both to the pronoun and to the gesture which accompanies it, draws the spectator's eye in a determined direction, and so prepares the audience to hear and understand the unexpected *nescio quoī turbae*.

In the end of the line scholars read with Ritschl *decedamus < hinc >*. *Hinc* is to my eyes a mere 'cheville' or expletive. Not only is it an idle word, but a noxious one. If *hinc* were true, we should have to understand that the

<sup>1</sup> To D; we may think that in the model of D long on the left.  
it could be read *N*, the upper stroke of *t* being too

chorus is expected to occupy the very point of the public way where the two women are talking, and that they ought to leave that point to the chorus from some feeling of discretion or deference. Compare the Plautine expression *alicui de via decedere*; what does *de via* mean here? Not the place one leaves, but the place one grants and reserves to a superior. And perhaps something better than *hinc* can be found by reflecting on the respective situations of the two women.

Our line 107 is not pronounced by the Bacchis who lives in the city and feels at home. This Bacchis speaks as is natural to the lady of the house: *eamus hinc intro ut laues,—sequere hac igitur me intro*. The line belongs to the other Bacchis, the newly-landed one, who comes to lodge at her sister's. In her mouth a somewhat more reserved tone is suitable, and I hardly believe she could use the imperative mood quite as her sister does. I propose therefore *decedamus <sis>*; compare *age sis eamus Poen. 1422, eamus tu Stich. 622*. An archaic word, a singular following a plural, could be omitted more easily than an ordinary word like *hinc*, because it was not understood by all. And perhaps a former copyist had written in one word *decedamussis*, which form would have seemed quite barbarous. Notice also that some copyist may have been puzzled by not recognizing the final iambus.

Line 107, if all the corrections I have admitted are true, is remarkable for the accumulation of five different faults without any relation to each other (*nos om., qui, turbre, qui, sis om.*). Such a phenomenon is rather rare (*Manuel*, § 386). Still the third fault, in its last aspect, received some influence from the fourth, for the mistake *qui* for *quae* prevented *turbæ* from being recognized in *turbæ*.

Mr. Lindsay felt some scruples about the sense of the word *turba*; I fancy they were illegitimate. *Turba* has by no means such a sense as *homines frequentes*; it may be translated by our French word *bousculade*. We use it when speaking of a too compact crowd, where people impede each other (*J'ai pris par les petites rues, pour éviter la bousculade*). We use it also of the brutal collective agitation of a few persons (*Il y a eu une bousculade dans la boutique*). Both meanings are common to Plautus' *turba*; the first one exists in *Poen. 265* (*mane; turba est nunc apud aram*), the second in our line of the *Bacchides*. By this line we are taught which was the nature of the chorus in that play; it was a band of running, gesticulating, perhaps screaming people, and the interlude offered to the Roman public had the character of a very animated, we may say violent, dance.

LOUIS HAVET.

PARIS.

## CATULLIANA.<sup>1</sup>

- |                          |             |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| 1. ii. [Lesbiae] passer. | 5. i. 8, 9. |
| 2. viii. 15.             | lxiv. 119.  |
| 3. xxv. 5.               | xcvi. 3, 4. |
| 4. xxix. 19 sqq.         |             |

### I.

#### ii. LESBIAE PASSER.

THE clue to the meaning and interpretation of this poem, which has long been the despair of critics, is, I believe, to be found in a variant on line 9, faithfully preserved in the *Codex Sangermanensis* (G) and yet unaccountably neglected hitherto. G's text I transcribe from M. Chatelain's photo-lithograph facsimile of the manuscript (Leroux, Paris, 1890).

fletus passeris lesbie  
Passer delicie mee puelle  
Quicu<sup>3</sup> ludere quē in sinu tenē  
at patēti  
Qui primū digitu<sup>3</sup> dare at petenti  
Et acris solet incitare morsus  
Cum desiderio meo nitenti.  
Karu<sup>3</sup> nescio quid libet iocari  
Et solaciolum sui doloris.  
Credo ut cū grauis adquiescat ardor  
at ludere;  
9 Tecum ludere sicut || ipsa possem !  
Et tristis animi leuare curas.  
Tam gratu<sup>3</sup> est michi q' ferūt puelle  
Pernici aureolu<sup>3</sup> fuisse malum  
Qd zonam soluit diu negatam. at ligatam.

Now it has been generally recognized since the time of Baehrens that these *variae lectioes* in G are entitled to be considered with the most minute attention; and the logical inference from the note before us is that, in a text the tradition of which has suffered more than most from a 'praua separatio et continuatio uerborum,' we have here to choose *not* between *ludere* and *luderem*, but between *ludere si* and *ludere mi*. Further the facsimile shows an

<sup>1</sup> The following notes are written after reading the poems in M. Chatelain's facsimile of

G, the text of which is quoted throughout.

erasure of one letter after *sicut*: i.e. G originally read *sicuti*? One other point. The glosses on these early poems appear to have been numerous and not easily distinguishable from the text. Certainly Pastrengicus (obit anno 1360), who possibly wrote with the archetype before him, incorporates a gloss in his citation of i, 5-7: *omne aeuum tribus explicare chartis i. uoluminibus Iupiter doctis et laboriosis.*<sup>1</sup>

I am now in a position to put my case. Did the line run thus in V's exemplar?

at mi            i. ipsa  
Tecum ludere si cuti ille            possem.<sup>2</sup>

I believe it did; and observing that the letters *u* and *a* are often confused, and that at xiv. 9 V had *si illa* for *Sulla*, I would read here:

tecum ludere, mi *Catulle*, possem  
et tristis animi leuare curas!

But if this is a true emendation, the speaker in lines 9, 10 is necessarily Lesbia. Where then does her 'speech' begin and how is it introduced? Baehrens maintained—and rightly it would seem—that in classical Latin *iocari* is always used of jesting speech, playful words,—*per iocim aliquid dicere*.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately he went on to say in his haste that *iocari* must therefore be corrupt; when the barbarous spelling *Karum* given by both G and O here and here only (I believe) in Catullus might have told him that the corrupt word is *Karum*, not *iocari*, and that in V's exemplar the line began with an H, not with a K; that is to say, *Karum* stands for *harum*, itself a blunder for *horum*;<sup>4</sup> and we must look in what follows for a *iocatio*.

Again, Achilles Statius and after him Heinsius<sup>5</sup> understood *solaciolum* to refer to the sparrow and Spengel marked a lacuna after verse 7: 'post u. 7 desiderari aliqua censem Spengelius' (Ellis *ad loc.*). To Prof. Phillimore<sup>6</sup> belongs the distinction of seeing that in the three lines (*tam gratum . . . ligatam*) which the MSS. give at the end of this poem, but which have often been regarded as a separate fragment, we have a soliloquy by Lesbia to be inserted here. There is much in Mr. Phillimore's reconstruction of the poem as a whole which can hardly be accepted. But so far he appears to be indisputably right. And he makes two other points of vital importance: (a) *desiderio*, he says, in the dative as a term of endearment ('h.e. *puellae meae formosae*', Doering) is a solecism which Catullus would never have allowed; and (b) the word *passer* in splendid isolation at the outset with nothing to give it a *locus*

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Ellis, *Catulli Ver. Lib.*, Proleg. p. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. lxxvii. 4, *si at mi R. Ven.*

<sup>3</sup> Baehrens, *Commentary on C.*, p. 76. Add to his examples Cat. lxi. *Fescennina iocatio* and Ovid,

T. v. 1, 20, *Cur unquam Musa iocata mea est?*

<sup>4</sup> *Harum, sc. iocationum* can hardly stand. For *horum nescio quid* cf. Cicero's *rumoris nescio quid* and *litterarum nescio quid*, ad Att. xvi. 5, 1, and

vii. 2, 8; Plaut. *Cist.* 50, *di horunc nil facere possunt*; Hor. S. ii. 6. 8, *si unneror stultus nihil horum, 'O si angulus ille,' etc.*

<sup>5</sup> See Ellis and Baehrens *ad loc.*

<sup>6</sup> In *Classical Philology*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (April, 1920), pp. 217-219, 'Passer, Catull. Carm. ii.' a paper which no student of Catullus should miss.

*standi* in the poem till we come to *tecum* in line 9 is frankly impossible. True: and with the assignment of *tecum* to the vocative *Catulle* the position becomes more impossible than ever,—unless a line of the original has been lost.<sup>1</sup> To be brief: I suggest that *nitenti* is a corruption of *calenti*.<sup>2</sup> Compare the description in Ovid *Met.* vii. 731 of Procris when her lover is away:

. . . desiderioque calebat  
coniugis abrupti.

And further if we are to infer, as I suppose we must, that Catullus pictures Lesbia as sharing with the sparrow the secret of her love, it follows that a line has fallen out, perhaps after verse 4, in which that idea was conveyed, e.g.

*<Passer conscientius est meae puellae.>*

Cf. Plautus, *Rudens* 926a, *nec mihi conscientius est nullus homo*, and Catullus lxv. 34, *conscientius rubor*.

The *iocatio* then will begin with line 7,

*En solaciolum mei doloris!*<sup>3</sup>

and it will end only with the poem. With *credo*, 'ay, sure' (asseverative as at lxxxiv. 5, not ironical), Lesbia owns her surrender.<sup>4</sup> 'She accepts me,' says Catullus, 'as her Hippomenes'; *Credo, et tum*<sup>5</sup> (sc. *post zonam solitam*) *gravis acquiescer ador*. The *ador* is, as the gloss in O declares, identical with the *dolor*. 'Ay, sure, and then the fever and pain will be at rest. Ah, my Catullus, would that I were with you now.' The *fletus* of the titulus in G looks like a corruption of *lussus*, but the poem might perhaps better be entitled *Lesbiae Passer sive Confessio Amantis*.<sup>6</sup> It may now be written out in full as follows:

*Passer, deliciae meae puellae,  
quicum ludere, quem in sinu tenere  
cui primum digitum dare adeptenti  
et acris solet incitare morsus,  
  
passer conscientius est meae puellae,  
cum desiderio meo calenti  
horum nescioquid libet iocari :*

<sup>1</sup> On the probability of such loss see Prof. Ellis's *app. crit.*, *Catulli Veronensis liber*, at iii. 4. To the examples there collected add xxxiv. 3, which by some oversight is omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. liv. 353, where G has *cavtor* and O *messor*, apparently a very similar confusion. For other quotations of Catullus in Ovid cf. Ovid *Met.* iii. 353 sqq., with Catullus lxii. 39 sqq.; *Met.* ix. 745 with Catullus lxvi. 11; *Am.* i. 8, 57, 58 with Catullus i. 1, v. 10 and xvi. 12; and *Fasti* iii. 473-476 with Catullus lxiv. 143. (This last instance from Baehrens *ad loc.*)

<sup>3</sup> *Es* for *et*, an easy correction. *swi* may have

come in owing to haplography of the *m* (*solaciolum* *mei*) or indeed from *frons* just below. (In *frons* f'III). Heinsius, if Doering reports him aright, strangely conjectured that Lesbia had given the *passer* to Catullus. On the contrary, Catullus had given the *passer* to Lesbia.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. lxx. Nulli se dicit mulier men nubere malle | Quam mihi κ.τ.λ. lxx. is also a Lesbia poem (Ellis and Baehrens).

<sup>5</sup> *et tum sdd. usst.*

<sup>6</sup> For the psychology of the poem cf. Dryden's song, *Long bewist loss and fear Phyllis tormented* (*The Oxford Dryden*, p. 377).

The n  
Plautu  
ne te t  
it is e  
two en  
suspec  
desola  
it is ex

In the  
lines (c  
you tha  
nec uac  
difficul  
the en  
Confus  
is not t  
at Juv  
occurre  
quatib  
of the  
and the

This h  
which

<sup>1</sup> The  
g, p. 12  
<sup>2</sup> So S

*Ex solaciolum mei doloris !  
tam gratum est mihi quam ferunt puellae  
pernici aureolum fuisse malum  
quod zonam soluit diu ligatam.*

*credo ; et tum grauis acquiescat ardor.  
tecum ludere, mi Catulle, possem  
et tristis animi leuare curas !*

## II.

viii. 15.

*Scelestā ne te / q̄ tibi manet uita,  
Quis n̄c te adibit ? cui uideberis bella ?  
Quem nūc amabis ? cui' esse diceris ?  
scelestā, uae te, edd. uett., uolgo ; scelestā, anenti etc., Bury.*

The *ne* 'affirmantis' before a personal pronoun is so frequent in the speech of Plautus and Terence and Cicero that a priori we should not expect the words *ne te* to be corrupt here. The idiom does not recur in Catullus, but in itself it is exactly appropriate, and has much better credentials than either of the two emendations suggested. But if *ne te* is sound, *tibi* must be regarded as suspect. Now the idea developed at length in the following lines is 'Lesbia desolate,' and we might expect to have that idea introduced in a word before it is expanded and explained in detail. Did Catullus write

*scelestā, ne te caelibis manet uita !*

In the earlier part of the poem he depicts his own desolation: the last five lines (corresponding to 1-5)<sup>1</sup> turn the tables upon Lesbia, 'Poor rogue, it is for you that the real loneliness is in store.' Cf. Propert. iv. 11. 94, *caelibis ad curas nec uacet ulla uia*. Palaeographically the change from *caelibis* to *quaetibi* is not difficult. V had *antiquo* for *amico* at cii. 1 and tends to drop the letter *s* at the end of a word;—*amni* for *amnis* at xxix. 19; *seruo* for *seruos* at xxiii. 1. Confusion of *l* and *t* does not appear to be found elsewhere in the text, but it is not unknown in other authors; cf. e.g. the *teeto* of O for *lecto* (Dr. Postgate) at Juvenal vi. 365<sup>25</sup>. And indeed if the two corruptions suggested had once occurred *quae libi* would tend to be 'corrected' almost automatically to the *quae tibi* of the text. It should be added that there is nothing in the etymology of the word *caelibs* as given by Walde to prevent it being applied to a woman;<sup>3</sup> and the emendation suggested itself to me first in the form

*scelestā, quae te caelibem manet uita !*

This however is a greater change, and it involves giving up the effective *ne*, which I now believe to be sound.

<sup>1</sup> The poem is 'articulated' thus, 5, 3, 3, 3, 5; cf. p. 128, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> So Seneca, *H. F.* 245, 246, *caelibis semper tori* | *regina gentis uida Thermodontias*. See the Corpus Gramm. Lat. iv. p. 216; v. p. 275; v. p. 445, line 2x, *caelibem solitaria* (*sic*).

## III.

xxv. 5

I demq; talle turbida rapacior procella

at aues at. aries i

5 Cum diua mulier alios ostendet os||citantes

This line has not yet been satisfactorily explained or emended. The difficulty centres about the mysterious *diua*;—see the texts and commentaries. I suggest that *aues*, the first of the two variants in G, is not an alternative to the word given in the text as *alios* but a corruption of *auos*; which in V's

at auos

exemplar belonged to the beginning of the line, thus:—*cum diuam* etc.; i.e. that just as *ludremi* and *luderesi* were confused at ii. 9, so were *diuam* and *dauos* confounded here. Catullus has borrowed the metre of the piece from comedy and from comedy he has taken the slave *Dauos*<sup>1</sup> to be the accomplice of Thallus in his knavish tricks. And since the sibilation is clearly designed to suggest the hissing of the storm,—cf. Horace's imitation [?] *Iam satis terris minis atque dirae | grandinis misit Pater*, C. i. 2, 1-2 (Page *ad loc.*) we may reasonably conjecture that the lost word, which in the text has been ousted by a *uria*

at aries

lectio *ut lorarios*,—for so I interpret the relique *ulierarios*,—was *ostriarios*:

idemque, Thalle, turbida rapacior procella,  
cum Dauos ostiarios ostendit oscitantes.

[The *uria lectio* suggested, *ut lorarios*, may have come from a reminiscence of some such scene as that which Plautus presents in the *Rudens* (iii. 4 and 5), where the *Lorarii* mount guard over the would-be thief Labrax, the villain of the piece.]

## IV.

xxix. 19 sqq.

Quid est alit sinistra liberalitas.

Parum expatrat an pa*l*l*l*u*u*atus est.

Paterna primū lancingata sūt bona,

Secunda preda pontica. inde tercia

19 Hybera. q. sit amni aurifer thagus.

Hūc gallie timet 7 britannie.

*Nihil contempnendum est neque in bello neque in re critica.*<sup>2</sup> For *sit* in v. 19 O reads *scit*; and it is customary to dismiss G's *sit* as a mere blunder, and to adopt *scit* without comment and without question. *Scit* yields, it may be urged, a tolerable sense; and the form of the expression is not unparalleled. But in view of the undoubted presence in V of corrections and variants,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Terence *Andria* and *Phormio*; Horace *A. P.* 237; *Sat.* i. 10, 40, ii. 5, 91; and especially *A. P.* 114, where the MSS. waver between *divus* and *Dauos*.

<sup>2</sup> Porson on *Medea* 139.

<sup>3</sup> See Bachres' *Praefatio*, and Dr. Postgate on the *Veronese codex of Catullus*, *C. R.* xiii. 438 sq.

another explanation of the divergency is worth suggesting, viz., that in V the line ran thus:

Hybera, quam sit amnis aurifer Tagus.

It may be that the true reading is, as Passerat conjectured, *cit.* This was corrupted into *sit*, but on revision the mistake was discovered and noted in the usual way (*sit*) by the corrector. The correction was however neglected by G and misunderstood by O. Hence the discrepancy. The form (from *cio*) is admitted by the editors of the new *Thesaurus* in Catullus' contemporary Cicero, *Part. Or.* § 22, where, as here, it puzzled the scribes.<sup>1</sup> The phrase is effective, and for the syntax we may compare (e.g.) Virgil's

cratera antiquom, quem dat Sidonia Dido.

But further the adoption of *cit* leads up to a happy issue out of the old trouble in line 20, where, adopting Dr. Postgate's *ultima* (i.e. *ltima*) for *timet*, I would propose

ciunda Galliae ultima et Britanniae!

'the subscriber of the third instalment is the Tagus, the last instalment Gaul and Britain (cf. lines 3 and 4) must subscribe.' The phrase *praedam cire* needs no justification; but it may be noted that here, as in other contexts (e.g. Plautus, *Rud.* 1101; Cicero, *de Or.* i. 237; Aul. Gell. i. 9, 12), the verb itself would have a legal flavour quite in keeping with Catullus' allusions in the immediate context to *paterna bona* and *uncta patrimonia*:—there is perhaps an ironical suggestion of *eructum cire*. The repetition (*cit . . . ciunda*) is Catullan; and the construction of the vexed words *Galliae* and *Britanniae* is at once explained. Palaeographically the rare word *ciunda* was bound to cause trouble. The *hunc* may have come in from the line below; but *a* is very apt to fall out before or after *d*, and it is but a step from *ciund* to *hunc*.

On line 15, about which there has been much discussion, *ait* (codd. *dett.* and Doering, *ex conjectura*) for *alit* may be right. Accepting this I would write the whole passage thus:

'Quid est ?' ait sinistra liberalitas.  
'parum expatravit an parum elluatus est ?  
paterna prima lancinata sunt bona,  
secunda praeda Pontica, inde tertia  
Hibera, quam cit amnis aurifer Tagus ;—  
ciunda Galliae ultima et Britanniae !'

As regards the remainder of the epigram I would add that in proposing<sup>2</sup> the correction, 'Quid hunc Lamum fouetis ?' etc., two points escaped me :

(1) Mamurra, too, like the old Riesenkönig of Formiae, appears to have been something of a giant : cf. cxv. 7,

omnia magna haec sunt, tamen ipsest maximus,

<sup>1</sup> animisicit Par., Sæc. x. animis miscet att.      <sup>2</sup> Classical Review, xxvi. 206-207.  
animis ciet Friedrich. Wilkins ad loc.

and (2) it would seem from Theocritus, xxii. 115 (Paley) with 97,

*πῶς γὰρ δὴ Δίὸς νιὸς ἀδηφάγον ἄνδρα καθεῖλεν;*

that the gluttony with which Mamurra-Lamus is twitted in this epigram was a stock-reproach against the 'Neptuni filii.'

For the *Eone, eone?* which was suggested in verse 23, cf. Cic. *pro Sexto Roscio*, § 151: 'Ad eamne rem uos reseruati estis, ad eamne rem delecti ut eos condemnatis quos sectores ac sicarii iugulare non potuissent?'<sup>1</sup>

The epigram is in my view articulated thus: 4, 6, 4, 6, 4.<sup>2</sup>

## V.

The three following conjectures may be worth recording, but I do not propose to defend them at length.

i. 8-9. *For*

at mei  
Quare tibi habe quicqd hoc libelli  
Qualecūq; qd' patrona uirgo.  
read  
quare quicquid habet mei hoc libelli  
qualecunque (i habeas).

Cf. vi. 15. *Quare quicquid habes*, etc., and Stat. *Silu.* iv. 9. 9. This might involve accepting Bergk's *patronei ut ergo*.

lxiv. 119. *For*

Que misera ingnata desperdita leta  
read  
quea misera in<grata in>gnata desperdita flebat.

See Doering *ad loc.* The broken rhythm to suggest a break in the voice. Virgil (*G.* i. 320) uses a similar device to suggest the violence of a storm,— . . . sublim|em expuls|am eruerent (Page *ad loc.*).

xvi. 3-4.

Quo desiderio ueteres renouam' amores  
q;  
Atque olim missas flemus amicitias.

Transfer these verses from their present situation (in which they are quite out of place and come near to spoiling a noble poem) to follow verse 2 of ci., *Aduenio has miseras frater ad inferias*. They were omitted in the text of the archetype (owing to the resemblance of *amicitias* to *inferias*, cf. the loss in *G* of xcii. 3-4) and added in the margin, from which the scribe introduced them here.

D. A. SLATER.

LLANISHEN, CARDIFF.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Ter. *Andr.* 849 sqq. S. *Quid istuc tibi negoti?* D. *mihine?* S. *Ita.* D. *mihin?* S. *Tibi ergo.* Terence seems to use in such repetitions (e.g.) *eone . . . eone* and *eone . . . eo* indiscriminately. The following passages bear on the

point; *Adelphos* 237, 408, 709, 753; *Andria* 910.

<sup>2</sup> On the cognate subject of the 'aequabilis partitio carminum Horati' see Dr. Draheim in the *Wochenschrift für Klass. Phil.* for December 9, 1912, No. 49, 1348 sqq.

## THE PLURALIS MAIESTATIS IN HOMER.

IN his new edition of *Il.* i.-xii. Prof. van Leeuwen takes ἀμόν in Z 414, η τοι γὰρ πατέρ' ἀμὸν ἀπέκτανε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς, as = *nostrum*, i.e. *meum et meorum fratribus*, adding that the plural used for the singular is alien to epic practice. He refers to A 30, B 486, Γ 440, H 196, Θ 360, K 448, N 257, O 224, Σ 197, T 402, Φ 60, 432, Ψ 84, 413, α 10, β 77 sq., κ 99, 334, 525, λ 33, 166, 481, ν 358, π 300, 442, σ 247, ψ 139. The point has often been discussed by commentators and grammarians, but generally with only one or two references, and an *obiter dictum* thereon. Even van Leeuwen's list is far from exhaustive. The following passages may be added: A 214, Δ 49, 362, E 489, Z 151, 526, H 363, Θ 178, I 108, 427, M 166, N 446, 785, 815, Μ 686, Σ 385, 424, T 73, 200, Τ 91, 214, Ψ 86, Ω 56, 70, 567, α 123, 166, 176, 258, 397, β 55, 60, 262, γ 186, ζ 191, 311, η 323, θ 39, 255, 426, ε 93, 284, λ 562, μ 81, ο 87, 513, 553, π 117, ρ 496, 534, ν 143, φ 238, 291, 292, 375, 384, ω 115. In the majority of these cases, which number eighty-four in all, it is possible to argue that the plural pronoun or verb is a plural; but in some it seems certain that it is used with a singular sense.

In most we are concerned with ἡμέτερος. The best case of all, perhaps, is when Odysseus tells Penelope, τ 344, οὐδὲ γυνὴ ποδὸς ἄφεται ἡμέτεροι. Monro, faithful to his belief that the use of the plural for the singular is not 'Homeric,' tries to explain it away in this line. 'Here the intention may be to lessen the self-assertion of the speech: as though Ulysses spoke for others as well as himself.' But this is to force an explanation: 'my leg' seems the only possible translation. So when Achilles, II 244, refers to Patroclus as ἡμέτερος θεράπων, or when Zeus says, O 224, it is well for Poseidon that he has left the field, ἀλενάμενος χόλον αἴπὺν ἡμέτερον (cp. χείρας ἐμάς, 228). It is surely his own spear alone that Achilles refers to in Φ 60, when he says, as Lycaon approaches, δουρὸς ἀκακῆς ἡμέτεροι γεύσεται. Compare T 73 and π 442. In such cases 'it is difficult to find any one associated with the speaker' (Jones, *The Poetic Plural of Greek Tragedy in the Light of Homeric Usage*, 130). In α 334, νῷ δ' ἔπειτα εἴνης ἡμέτερης ἐπιβήσομεν is addressed to Odysseus by Circe just after his arrival and after he has threatened her; but it is perhaps possible, though such confidence seems 'so sudden' on her part, to take ἡμέτερης proleptically, with Merry and Riddell. The same editors take the words ἀμῆς γῆς (λ 166 sq.), which refer to Ithaca, as 'our land,' as Odysseus is speaking to the shade of his mother; but that explanation will

not serve in 481, where the same words are used to the shade of Achilles. And in 562 of the same book, in Odysseus' words to the shade of Aias, δεῦρο . . . ἵν' ἔπος . . . ἀκούσας ἡμέτερον, we cannot doubt that the proper translation is 'my.' In I 108, οὐ τι καθ' ἡμέτερόν γε νόον, the *γε* and the words which follow, μάλα γάρ τοι ἔγωγε πόλλ' ἀπεμυθέόμην, show that Nestor is recalling his own previous attempt to dissuade his chief.

With *οἶκος*, *δόμος* and the like, the familiar 'our' is no doubt often a tenable translation. But even here there are cases in which 'my' seems better, as A 30, *ἡμέτέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ* (Agamemnon in his most imperious mood, and to an entire stranger). So in Θ 255, where Alcinous bids 'some one' bring Demodocus' lyre, *ἥ που κεῖται ἐν ἡμέτεροι δόμοις*, and in δ 101 and Ω 567, *θυράων ἡμετέρων* (Achilles, of his own hut). It is the same with references to relatives. In Z 414, quoted above *ad init.*, why should we include Andromache's brothers? They have not been mentioned. The commentators generally take *ἄμόρ* = *ἔμόν*, Mr. Rennie quoting Θ 178 (Hector, *τὰ δ' οὐ μένος ἄμὸν ἐρύξει*), and rightly, it seems (*μοι*, 175, and *γένωμαι*, 180). Nausikaa's *μητρὸς ἡμέτερης*, ζ 311, is in exactly the same case. She uses *ἔμοις* in 299, 305, 308; why should she include her brothers for once, and to a man she had never seen before and who did not know she had any? In χ 463 sq., where Telemachus says of the unfaithful maids, *αἱ δὴ ἔμῃ κεφαλῇ κατ' ὄνειδα χεῖναν μητέρι θ' ἡμέτέρην*, are we to assume that when he comes to his mother he suddenly remembers his sister Iphthime in Phaeae? As Laertes had but one son, Odysseus' *πατρὸς ἡμέτεροι*, ω 216, must mean 'my father.' There are similar cases with *ἱμέτερος*, as Ψ 84, 86, and σ 247 (addressed to Penelope, *ἱμέτεροις δόμοισι* immediately followed by *ἐπεὶ περίεσται*). In ε 284, where Odysseus tells Polyphemus his ship has been wrecked *ἱμῆς ἐνὶ πείραις γαῖης*, his 'your' must be stretched if it is to include the other Cyclopes.

π 44 sq. is an interesting occurrence. Telemachus, received outside by Eumeus, enters the latter's hut, where the disguised Odysseus is sitting. Odysseus rises to give him his seat, but he declines it—*ἥσα, ξεῖν'* · *ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι δήμοιν ἔδρην σταθμῷ ἐν ἡμέτέρῳ*. Monro's note is, 'Telemachus takes care to associate the others, especially Eumeus'—there was only Eumeus who could be associated—in the reception of the stranger, and the ownership of the homestead. The use of the pronoun "we" as a mere variety for the singular is not Homeric: see however xvi. 442, xix. 334, *Il.* xiii. 257, xv. 224.' But the rest of Telemachus' brief speech is important—*πάρα δ' ἀνὴρ δις καταθήσει*. This and the words *δήμοιν ἔδρην* seem to be distinctly against the idea of association in the earlier part of the passage. And generally the *ἡμέτερος* cases seem to establish the use of the word in a singular sense. Prof. Platt admits this in a note in *J. Phil.* xix. 23, while objecting to a similar interpretation of *ὅρῶμεν* in κ 99. His admission might be extended to some of the occurrences of *ἡμεῖς*, e.g. β 60 sqq. (Telemachus), *ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ νόΐ τι τοῖοι ἀμυνέμεν· ή καὶ ἐπειτα λευγαλέοι τ' ἑσόρευσθα καὶ οὐ δεδαχότες ἀλεχνήν· ή τ' ἀν ἀμυναίμην, εἴ μοι δίναμις γε παρείη*. The inclusion of Penelope is barred by the

of Achilles.  
Aias, δένπο  
proper trans-  
the words  
Nestor is

but often a  
ny' seems  
ous mood,  
some one'  
δ 101 and  
same with  
should we  
ned. The  
8 (Hector,  
μητρα, 180).  
he uses ἐψό<sup>ς</sup>  
l to a man

χ 463 sq.,  
ατ' ὄνειδεα  
his mother  
es had but  
r.' There  
Penelope,  
84, where  
σασι γαιης,

outside by  
is sitting.  
μεῖς δὲ καὶ  
suchus takes  
Eumeus  
ownership  
ety for the  
xiii. 257,  
ρα δ' ἀνὴρ  
ly against  
erally the  
lar sense.  
o a similar  
to some of  
νού· τε τοῖοι  
ν· η τ' ἀν  
red by the

second sentence. Faesi takes that view. And sometimes we have the verb alone. In Δ 362 (cp. Z 526) Agamemnon eats his words to Odysseus, and adds, δλλ' ίθι, ταῦτα δ' ἀπεσόμεθ'. . . . If (Leaf and Monro ad loc.) the last word means 'atone,' surely the subject is Agamemnon alone. In ω 259 (Odysseus to his father), ει ἔτεόν γ' Ιθάκην τήνδ' . . . ικόμεθ', the verb can hardly include any one besides the speaker. There has been no word of any companions. β 60 and π 44 have already been discussed. κατεάξαμεν, N 257, is a famous case. There is a u. l. κατέαξα μέν, and the position of the μέν, which has been impugned, seems defensible. Dr. Verrall preferred the plural, and taking it as a real plural, used it as a basis for one of the most startling Homeric theories ever broached. Idomeneus had a μῆνις as well as Achilles, and the breaking of a spear by himself and his squire Meriones was done in token that he had renounced his fealty.

If even a few of the *ημέτερος* cases are conclusive—and there seems no getting round the leg of Odysseus and the wrath of Zeus—then the usage in question seems to be established. They justify us in affirming its presence in many cases where intrinsic probability is strong, but not quite exclusive of the possibility of the alternative view.

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## A PROBLEM IN THE CORINTHIAN WAR.

IN 394 Agesilaus, treading in the footsteps of Xerxes, came from Asia by way of Thrace and Macedon into Thessaly, threw off the attacks of the Thessalian cavalry, proceeded without further trouble into Boeotia,<sup>1</sup> and met the enemy at Coronea, where a great battle was fought. The question ought to have been asked before now, why was he not held up at Thermopylae?

Xerxes had been brought to a full stop at Thermopylae, in spite of his vast numbers, till the Phocians played false. His navy, indeed, gave him a δεύτερος πλοῦς, and, if the worst had come to the worst on land, and the best had happened for him at sea, Thermopylae might have been turned. Agesilaus, on the other hand, was not accompanied by his fleet, which was destroyed in Asiatic waters during his march; the numbers of his army were not overpowering, the Spartiates with him were few. Why did not the Thebans close the Gates in his face? They and their allies had held in check the army which had confronted them on the south: why did they let in so tamely the army which descended from the north?

In the previous year a force of Sparta's enemies had operated in southern Thessaly; and Heraclea in Trachis, we read, had been betrayed to Boeotians and Argives, who massacred or ejected its Peloponnesian occupants, and put it into the hands of Trachinian refugees and an Argive garrison. The new inhabitants and the garrison looked on, it seems, while Agesilaus marched before their walls. Yet Heraclea might have served the Thebans as a base for the occupation of the neighbouring pass; and it must have given them a reminder, if any was needed, that the pass could be held.

Were the Thebans eager to meet Agesilaus in open fight? Did they fear that if he were stopped short at Thermopylae he might turn back and harry their Thessalian friends? Neither motive is very credible, and I prefer to suspect that we are misinformed about the date at which Heraclea changed hands. If Heraclea was still held in Sparta's interest, it might have hindered the occupation of Thermopylae by the Thebans and their allies; it might even itself have sent a force to hold the pass for the other side. In Diodorus, our only authority for the date, a mistake of the year is not much to suppose. After Coronea the place may well have fallen away from Sparta, and the Argive garrison may still have been of use.

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<sup>1</sup> Xen. Hell. iv. 3, 9: τῇ δ' θετεραῖς ὑπερβόλαιων ἀπορέσθαι μέχρι τῆς τὰ Βουτῶν δρός.  
τὰ Ἀχαϊκά τῆς Φθίας δρη τὴν λοιπὴν τάσσεται διὰ φύλας

SOPHOCLES, *TRACHINIAE*, 1064-5.

ω παῖ, γενοῦ μοι παῖς ἐτήτυμος γεγός,  
καὶ μὴ τὸ μητρὸς ὄνομα πρεσβεύσῃς πλέον.

THE lover of Aeschylus and Verrall, remembering the appendix to Verrall's *Seven against Thebes*, pricks up his ears at ἐτήτυμος and listens for a verbal equivocation.

Verrall regarded play upon words and names as especially Aeschylean. Of one instance he says,<sup>1</sup> 'The modern reader will doubtless think this detestable: so would Euripides, and so would Sophocles.' Sophocles is not over-fond of etymological points, nor is ἐτήτυμος or ἔτυμος a signal, in Sophocles, that such a point is to be taken. When Neoptolemus offers to hand back the bow and arrows, and Philoctetes exclaims

ὦ φίλατα! εἰπάν, εἰ λέγεις ἐτήτυμα,

we need not suspect him of implying 'You put new fight into me,' in allusion to the young man's name, even though he does in fact make ready at once to shoot. Yet Sophocles revived the verb ὀδύσσομαι for the etymological use to which it is always put in the *Odyssey*:

ὅρθῶς δ' Ὁδυσσεὺς εἰμ' ἐπώνυμος κακοῖς,  
πολλοὶ γὰρ ὀδύσσαντο δυσσεβεῖς ἐμοί.<sup>2</sup>

Nor did he resist the temptations of Alas:

αἰαῖ· τίς ἀν ποτ' φεθ' ὁδὸς ἐπώνυμον  
τούμδον ξυνόσειν ὄνομα τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς;  
νῦν γὰρ πάρεστι καὶ δις αἰάζειν ἐμοὶ  
καὶ τρίς.<sup>3</sup>

But in these two cases the etymologizing is unconcealed. If there is any in the passage of the *Trachiniae*, it is covert and shy.

'My son,' says Heracles, 'prove thyself my true-born son, and prefer not the mother's name.' The name was Δημάρειρα, 'destroyer of a husband,' or, at any rate, 'destroyer of men.' She has done what her name implies, and Heracles seems to call on Hyllus not to abet her in acting up to her name.

<sup>1</sup> *Eumenides*, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment 408 (Dindorf).

<sup>3</sup> *Ajax*, 431-4. Cf. 914, δὸνεράτελος θυσάνυμος

Alas.

Poets should mean at least as much as they say. When Lucan wrote  
sola futuri

Crassus erat belli medius mora. qualiter undas  
qui secat et geminum gracilis mare separat Isthmos,<sup>1</sup>

he ought to have been aware (perhaps he was) of the inept juxtaposition of *slender* and *Thick*. Did Sophocles mean all that he has implied? I think so, because *όνομα*, if it has not this implication, is strange, and a feeble excuse for it has to be sought two hundred and fifty lines away.

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<sup>1</sup> i. 99.

### DIOGENES LAERTIUS I. 2, 56.

Τά τε Ὄμηρον ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε ῥαψῳδεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος Ἐληξεν ἐκεῖθεν ἀρχεσθαι τὸν ἔχόμενον.

It is high time that the famous expression *ἐξ ὑποβολῆς* should resume its true form. This is *ἐξ ὑπολαβῆς*, and it is a variation of what appears in the Platonic *Hippiarchus* as *ἐξ ὑπολήψεως*. *Δῆψις* = *λαβὴ*. Clearly, the explanation *ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος Ἐληξεν ἐκεῖθεν ἀρχεσθαι τὸν ἔχόμενον* fits the words *ἐξ ὑπολαβῆς* (or *ὑπολήψεως*) and not the words *ἐξ ὑποβολῆς*.

ALEX. PALLIS.

LIVERPOOL.

wrote

position of  
I think so,  
excuse for

ARRISON.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

### LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 33. No. 4. 1912.

E. W. Fay, *Derivatives of the root STHA in composition*. G. M. Bolling, *Contributions to the Study of Homeric Metre*. A. C. Pearson, *On the use of ὅταν with Causal Implication*. T. D. Goodell, *Imagination and Will in MH*. B. L. Gildersleeve, *Usque recurret MH*. J. P. Postgate, *Abibus and Tibullus*. B. L. Ullman, *Rejoinder to Mr. Postgate*. Reviews: Kukula's *Römische Säkularpoesie* (W. P. Mustard), Baur's *Centaurus in Ancient Art* (D. M. Robinson), Nilsson's *Die Causal-Sätze im Griechischen bis Aristoteles*, *Die Poesie* (B. L. Gildersleeve). L. Traube's *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, vol. 2 (G. L. Hamilton). Brief Mention: Cauer's *Grammatica Militans* (ed. 3), the Editor. Marucchi's *Epigrafia Cristiana*, H. L. W. Moscow Archaeological Institute's *Exempla Codicum Graecorum*, C. W. E. M.

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift. 1912.

Nov. 30. F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*. Vol. 2. *Zestrechnung der Juden, der Naturvölker, der Römer und Griechen* (Soltau). A remarkable book, indispensable to all who are working in this field.

Dec. 7. *The Report of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Terminology* (Hermann). The movement is widespread. The English took a very practical step in appointing this Committee. Ed. Schwartz, *Eusebius Kirchengeschichte* hrsg. von E. S., III: *Einleitungen, Übersichten und Register* (Preuschen). Very highly praised. The Indexes good as to both matter and language.

Dec. 14. (An extra number, 144 pp.) T. W. Allen, *Homeri Opera*, rec. T. W. A. Tom. V (Ludwigh). The merit of the Oxford text lies in the independent and thorough study of the sources. W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (Kallenberg). Good on the subject-matter, not always trustworthy on the language. O. Apelt, *Platonische Aufsätze* (Raeder). Fr. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen* (W. M. Lindsay). An interesting review (in English) criticizing Leo's view of the early history of the language. 'This second edition is little more than a reprint of the first.' P. Menge, *Ist Caesar der Verfasser des Abschnittes über Kurios Feldzug in Afrika?* (Meusel). Menge has proved that B.C. II, 23-44 are not by Caesar and can scarcely be by Asinius Pollio. A. Rosenberg, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Zenturienverfassung* (Lammert). J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, III (Gruppe). P. Fraccaro, *I processi degli Scipioni* (Bardt). A thorough study of the question discussed by Mommsen in *Röm. Forsch.* II. P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale dans l'Egypte romaine* (Beseler). Useful; includes a careful bibliography. Fr. Vollmer, *Építome Thesauri latini I, 1, a-aedilis* (Schmalz). The Epitome will give in four handy volumes the main results of the work done for the Thesaurus. Nothing essential is omitted. R. Kühner, *Aufz. Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*. Second edition. Vol. I, bearb. von Fr. Holtzweissig (Hermann). Unfavourable.

Dec. 21. H. J. White, *Novum Testamentum Latine*, cur. H. J. W. (Eb. Nestle). Much praised. Th. Stangl, *Ciceronis orationum scholiastae*, rec. Th. S. (Wessner).

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

Vol. 2 contains text, apparatus, and brief notes. Vol. 1 will contain Prolegomena, Vol. 3 full Indexes. The work more than satisfies our expectations. J. Pley, *De laus in antiquorum ritibus usu* (Hirsch). In the series edited by Wünsch and Deubner. Th. Birt, *Zur Kulturgeschichte Roms* (Peter). A short sketch for general readers. The knowledge and personality of the author make it valuable to scholars also.

Dec. 28. E. Diehl, *Vergil, Aeneis II mit dem Kommentar des Servius* hrsg. von E. D. (Wessner). One of Lietzmann's Kleine Texte.

1913. Jan. 4. E. G. Sihler, *C. Julius Caesar: Sein Leben nach den Quellen kritisch dargestellt* (Meusel). Translated from the American edition by the author. Students may learn from it to estimate the value of the statements of ancient authors. P. V. Neugebauer, *Tafeln zur astronomischen Chronologie. I. Sterntafel von 4000 vor Chr. bis zur Gegenwart* (Boll). Will save much trouble.

Jan. 11. R. Heinze, *Tertullians Apologeticum* (Hoppe).

Jan. 18. H. Richards, *Platonica* (Raeder). Anyone who is making a thorough study of a dialogue must certainly consult this book.

Jan. 25. H. Collitz and O. Hoffmann, *Griech. Dialektinschriften*, IV, 4, 1 (Larfeld). Includes 'Grammatik und Wortregister' to part of vol. III. *Der obergermanisch-rätische Limes des Römerreichs* Lief. 34, 35 (Wolff).

Feb. 1. J. Burnet, *Plato III*, II (Apelt). Careful; records many valuable readings of F. E. Herr, *De Actae carminis sermone et de tempore quo scriptum sit* (Kraemer). Assigns the poem to the time of Nero. Bruns, *Fontes iuris Romani. Additamentum* (Beseler). I. Index to vol. I. II. Simulacra (38 photographs of inscriptions, two of Papyri).

Feb. 8. H. Jordan, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Stählin). Specially good in tracing the development of the various literary forms, e.g. the Epistle from St. Paul down to Cassiodorus. M. Pohlens, *Cic. Tusc. Disp. Libri I et II erkl.* von M. P. (Bitschofsky). This supersedes O. Heine's edition; practically a new work. J. E. B. Mayor, *Cambridge under Queen Anne* (B. A. Müller). Speaks with warm admiration of M. and tells of an interesting discovery. Uffenbach relates in his diary printed in this book that when he visited the Cambridge University Library (p. 156) he received a present of a leaf from a certain codex. This leaf the reviewer has identified among the Uffenbach papers in the Hamburg Library.

Feb. 15. C. Simbeck, *Cic. Cato maior*, rec. C. S. (Bitschofsky). Text based on a new classification of the MSS. C. Atzert, *Luius quomodo composuerit XXI, 40-44* (Lier). A study of Livy's methods in the composition of speeches. F. W. Hasluck, *Cyrius* (Gerland). High praise. W. Kalb, *Wegweiser in die römische Rechtsprache* (Lesser). G. Matthies, *Die pränestinischen Spiegel. Ein Beitrag zur italischen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte* (Pagenstecher).

Feb. 22. A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Pt. IX., ed by A. S. H. (Maas). Excellently edited. The reviewer adds some notes on Soph. *Ichn.* and on the Life of Euripides.

March 1. C. Giarratano, *Calpurnii et Nemesiani Bucolica*, rec. C. G. (Schenkl). The reviewer, who has also edited these works, discusses fully. F. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (Gundel). Praised. In columns 1763-6 (Dec. 14, Sonderheft) W. Fox discussed at length the 'crux interpretum' Dem. I, 21, ὡς ἀπίστως and concluded that in ὡς we have the final syllable of an adverb, meaning 'easily' or 'quickly' or the like (perhaps φρεδίως) belonging to ἀναρρίφεσθαι. M. Wallies now suggests that the adverb was ἀπλῶς, the first syllable of which might easily fall out after δλλ'.

Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen. 45 Heft. 1913.

R. Raschke, *De Alberico Mythologo*. Contains pp. 164. Discusses the sources of A., who probably wrote circ. 950-1050 A.D., for (a) *Mythographus Vaticanus III*,

(b) *de deorum imaginibus libellus.* (b) is an epitome of (a). A. worked up his sources far more freely than the authors of *Mythographi Vaticanus I* and *II*. Primary sources were Fulgentius, Servius, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Remigius; secondary Cicero (*de natura deorum*), Hyginus (*astronomica*), Plato (*Timaeus*), Rufinus, cited as Hieronymus (*historia monachorum*), Isidore (*Origines*), scholia to Statius, Horace, Persius, Lucan, also Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal; also *Mythographus Vaticanus II*.

### Classical Philology. Vol. 8. No. 1. 1913.

J. C. Rolfe, *Some Temporal Expressions in Suetonius.* H. W. Prescott, *The Amphitruo of Plautus.* F. W. Shipley, *Preferred and Avoided Combinations of the Enclitic que in Cicero.* E. T. Merrill, *On Cicero to Basilius* (Fam. vi. 15). Cornelia C. Coulter, *The Composition of the Rudens of Plautus.* E. H. Sturtevant, *Labil Terminations, III. Notes and Discussions.* J. E. Harry, *Ajax and the Vultures* (*Soph. Ai.* 167-171). P. Shorey, *Emendation of Olympiodorus Scholia in Platonis Phaedonem Finch,* p. 39 l. 9. *Id.*, *Note on the Latin Accent.* Margaret E. Hirst, *Plato Timaeus 37 C.* C. H. Beeson, *Isidore's Institutionum Disciplinae and Pliny the Younger.*

### Classical Weekly (New York).

1912. Nov. 23. *Harvard Essays on Classical Subjects* (H. W. Prescott). A posthumous paper by the late Prof. Morgan endeavours 'to visualize the ancient city for the modern reader.'

1913. Jan. 25. C. L. Durham: On Formal Latin and Informal Latin, with a list of recent books useful for the study of Vulgar Latin.

Jan. 25 and Feb. 1. Wetmore's *Index Verborum Vergilianus* and Merguet's *Lexicon zu Verg.* (C. Knapp). A long and interesting discussion of the arrangement of these and similar books, praising Wetmore's work.

Feb. 8. E. H. Sturtevant: On Recent Literature on Comparative Philology. A list of books published since 1907 with brief comments. P. Lejay, *Q. Horati Flacci Satirae* (J. C. Rolfe). 'Indispensable to all serious students of the satires.' Very full commentary in 'excessively small type.' F. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (G. Laing). 'He not only sums up the results of many investigations previously published, but also incorporates numerous new theories, the proof of which he intends to publish in a larger work.'

Feb. 15. M. N. Wetmore, *Index Verborum Catullianus* (Lodge). A companion volume to the Virgil index. Based on the Oxford text it contains also the variants in the six most recent editions. W. Leaf, *Troy* (J. A. Scott) 'has surely found the true cause of the early prosperity and the subsequent decline of Troy.' 'In this book he appears in his own right as a brilliant and original thinker.'

### Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1912.

Dec. 7. Max Pohlenz, *Ciceronis Tusc. Disp. libri V.* 1 Heft, lib. I et II (G. Ammon). The introduction includes a thorough exposition of Cicero's philosophical studies.

Dec. 14. *Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden IV.* 7-12 Heft. The most important finds recorded give a picture of life at Alexandria in the time of Augustus. *Griechische Urkunden des Ägyptischen Museums zu Kairo.* 8 Heft. Papyri chiefly of second to fourth century A.D. *Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek.* I. 1. Documents from first to sixth century A.D. (G. A. Gerhard). C. Mayhoff, *C. Plini Secundi Nat. hist. libri XXXVII.* 2 vols. (L. Pschor).

Dec. 21. E. Heden, *Homerische Göttergestalten* (C. Rothe). E. Redslob, *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Horaz* (J. W. Beck). The suggestions are stimulating.

1913. Jan. 4. E. Belzner, *Homerische Probleme.* II: *Die Komposition der*

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

*Odyssee* (G. Finsler). Attempts to show that the *Odyssey* was planned as a dramatic unity. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 1911, 1912 (R. Helm). Contains papers by J. S. Reid on Lucretius I, II; R. H. Webb on MSS. of Terence; W. A. Heidel on 'Antecedents of Greek corpuscular Theories'; E. G. Schrauroth on the 'ινοφύτα of Greek Ships'; C. R. Post on the 'Dramatic Art of Sophocles,' etc.

Jan. 11. J. E. Harrison, *Themis* (E. Siltig). Useful, but one-sided. O. Plasberg, *M. T. Ciceronis Paradoxa*, etc. (C. Atzert).

Jan. 18. Emil Thomas, *Studien zur lateinischen und griechischen Sprachgeschichte* (E. Hermann). Many difficult passages, especially in Petronius, successfully explained.

Jan. 25. J. H. Moulton, *Einleitung in die Sprache des Neuen Testaments*. Deutsche Ausgabe (R. Helbing). Warmly welcomed. A. G. Roos, *Studia Arrianae* (F. Pfister). G. Costa, *I fasti consolari romani* (O. Leuze). A thorough study of the sources of the *Fasti*, showing astounding industry.

Feb. 1. H. Otto, *Kennt Aristoteles die sogenannte tragische Katharsis?* (W. Süss). D. Brock, *Studies in Fronto and his Age* (G. Lehnert). Defends Fronto and collects evidence that the so-called 'African Latin' is based on the vulgar Latin of F.'s time. E. G. Sihler, *C. Iulius Caesar* (R. Grosse). Not a final judgment, but useful, especially in its study of sources.

Feb. 8. K. Ziegler, *Plutarchus, Tiberius und Gaius Gracchus* (F. Focke). Bruns, *Fontes iuris romani antiqui*. I. Index. II. Simulacra (P. Krüger).

Feb. 22. F. Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*. Second edition (J. Pokorny). Maintains that the south-eastern part of the island was almost fully Romanized, but without giving sufficient weight to the linguistic argument which modifies this conclusion.

March 1. Max Heyse, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Reden des Aeschines* (H. Buerman).

#### Hermathena. Vol. 19. No. 38. 1912.

L. R. Farnell, *The Dionysiac and the Hero Theory of the Origin of Tragedy*. L. C. Purser, *Notes on the Platonic Treatise of Apuleius*. C. Exon, *Apriorism and some places in Plautus*. H. S. Verschoyle, *Some Broken Lights* (correspondences between Buddha's teachings and Aristotle's and St. Paul's). Mario Esposito, *Miscellaneous Notes on Mediaeval Latin Literature*. J. P. Postgate, *Plautine Conjectures*. Mark Collins, *A Comparative Greek Grammar* (Wright's). J. G. Smyly, *The Second Book of Manilius*. J. P. Mahaffy, *Pauly-Wissowa's Encyclopädie*, Fornax—Helike. W. Conlin, *Plautus Rudens*, 826.

#### Hermes. Vol. 48. Part I. 1913.

M. Pohlenz, *Die Abfassungszeit von Ovids Metamorphosen*. Ovid probably worked at the Metamorphoses after his banishment. S. Sudhaus, *Zu den neuen Bruchstücken der Epirepontes*. W. W. Jaeger, *Das Pnuma im Lyceion*. On the psychological and physiological import of πνεῦμα in Aristotle and the Peripatetics: maintains the authenticity of the πρὶ λόγω κυρῆσθαι. M. Holleaux, *L'entretien de Scipion l'Africain et d'Hannibal*. The anecdote was not found in Polybius but invented by some annalist. It is founded on a real visit made to Asia by Scipio at a time when the legate P. Villius (who is known to have had relations with Hannibal) was at Ephesus. B. Keil, *Zu den Persern des Timotheos*, Emendations and Exegesis. M. Wellmann, *Zu Herodots Schrift ἡρῷ τῶν ὅέντων καὶ χρονίων πορνητῶν*. Attributes this anonymous tract to Herodotus the medical writer controverted by Galen. F. Boll, *Die Anordnung im zweiten Buch von Horaz' Satiren*. S. Sudhaus, *Perikeironemē* 96–100. F. Leo, *Inscrifftliches Citat aus Laberius*. Ch. Huelsen, *Weihinschrift an Claudius*. H. Schenkl, *Zu den Ιχνευταῖς des Sophokles*. B. Keil, *Nauvrys*. P. Maas, *Varro bei Gellius, Noctes*.

Atticae, xviii. 25. H. Jacobsohn, *Zum Papyrus Giessen*, i. 1, No. 17. G. Jacob, *Säulen vom Theater in Athen als Spolien im Vorhof der Selimje zu Adrianopel*.

**Mnemosyne.** 41. 1. 1913.

J. H. Holwerda, *De Frisia Bataisque patria nostrae incolis*. To show that the Bataui, etc., were taken from among the Chatti and settled on the Lower Rhine by Julius Caesar. H. van Gelder, *Ad titulos quosdam Rhodios nuper repertos*. Some interesting restorations and notes on proper names. J. W. Beck, *Ad Senecae Tragoedias* (to be continued). Notes on the Phaedra, vv. 250-273, 274-284; 300, 309-316, 352-5, 1007-1037. Mainly questions of order or deletion of lines. J. J. H., *Ad Homeri Iliadem* Λ 126 sq. Read ὅμοι δ' ἔχον ὥστε ἵπποι 'equi eos simul retinebant in eodem loco.' Id., *Ad Plutarchi Moralia Annotationes Criticae* (continued). Conjectures and critical notes on *De Virtute et Vitio—Mulierum Virtutes*, pp. 100 b—263 c. H. argues against Volkmann for Plutarch's authorship of the *Septem Sapientum Consilium*. A. Kurfess, *Ad Cic. in Sallustium quae fertur Inuestigatio*. Evidence to explain the reference to Nigidius in v. 14. Idem, *Varia*. *De Sophoclis Indagatorum fontibus*. Suggests the use of Alcaeus (v. Bergk Frag. 5) as well as of the Homeric Hymn. *Xenophanea*: Frag. 5 Karsten, ἀλλὰ βροτοὶ κ.τ.λ. This line is hexameter and should be completed, τεκνοῦθαι ὄμοιος; the ὄμοιος has been omitted as part of a gloss. [Arist.] περὶ Ξενοφ. 977. a. 20 τὰ χείρα ἐπὶ τὸν κραυγῶν should be omitted. M. Valeton, *De Iliadis Origine et Fontibus*. The third part of an attempt to determine the stratification of material in the Homeric poems. Agamemnon, Menelaus, Helen, Nestor, Diomedes, etc., and also Aeneas, belong originally to the Peloponnes, none of them to Thessaly (criticism of Cauer). They are introduced after the Ionians planted colonies in Asia Minor. Ionic poets brought these heroes into the Tale of Troy, and exploits of these heroes found a place in the Homeric poems, e.g. the taking of Rhesus' horses, where the scene was originally laid in Thrace. An attempt is made to determine the relative age and the connection of these 'Peloponnesian' parts of the poems. v. L., *Ad Odys. ψ 361, ω 209*, notes on text. J. van Leeuwen J. f., *In Memoriam Mortimeri Lamson Earle*.

**Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc.** XXIX. 10. 1912.

W. Pecz, *Die Tropen der Ilias und der Odyssee*. An analysis of the numbers and characters of the tropes (metaphor, simile, synecdoche, metonymy, and so on) in the two epics as compared with each other and with tragedy. B. Laum, *Die Entwicklung der griechischen Metopenbilder* (continued). A long study of the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the Parthenon, the Theseion, the Argive Heraion, and the temple of Apollo at Phigaleia; with which the development of the art of metopes came to an end. P. Hoppe, *O navis, referent...? Hor. ad. i 14*, which owes more to 671 sqq. of the Theognides than to Archilochus, belongs to the crisis of the Sicilian war after the disasters of 38. J. E. Kalitsunakis, *Der neugriechische Thesaurus*. Principles to be followed, and dangers to be avoided, in the projected work. H. Meltzer, review of V. Hehn's *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere* (8th edition) and O. Schrader's *Die Anschauungen V. Hehns von der Herkunft unserer Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere im Lichte neuerer Forschung*. H. Philipp, review of E. von Hoffmeister's *Durch Armenien, eine Wanderung, und der Zug Xenophons bis zum Schwarzen Meere*. H. Lamer, review of A. Conze and P. Schazmann's *Mamuri-Kaleh, ein Tempel der Göttermutter unweit Pergamon*.

**XXXI. 1. 1913.**

G. Wissowa, *Die neueste Gesamtdarstellung der Altertumswissenschaft*. A long review of Gercke and Norden's *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, with severe criticism of K. J. Neumann's section on the Roman constitution and of E. Bickel's on metre. E. Stemplinger, *Mimesis im philosophischen und rhetorischen Sinne*. A study

of the uses of  $\mu.$  in the literary theories of Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics and Plotinus; and in the rhetorical sense in which it covers ὀνοματωνία, ἡθωνία, παθολογία, O. Waser, review of H. Blümner's *Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, vol. 1, ed. 2. A. Klotz, review of T. R. Holmes's *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, ed. 2.

XXXI. 2. 1913.

F. Boll, *Die Lebensalter*. An elaborate survey of the conventional divisions of human life, up to Shakespeare's Seven Ages of Man. In an appendix B. re-examines the Hippocratic Περὶ Ἐβδομάδων, and is led to dissent from W. H. Roscher's view that it is 'the oldest remnant of Ionian nature-philosophy.' R. Reitzenstein, *Agnostos Theos*. A sympathetic and illustrative review of E. Norden's new book. W. Nestle, review of R. von Pöhlmann's *Geschichte der sozialen Fragen und des Sozialismus in der antiken Welt*, ed. 2.

**Philologus.** LXXI. Heft 3. 1912.

W. A. Oldfather, *Die Ausgrabungen zu Lokri*. Discusses the results of Orsi's excavations at Epizephyrian Locri, with special reference to the cult of Persephone. Certain finds seem to confirm the traces of erotic tendencies at Locri, e.g. the Locrian songs, Nossis, etc. P. Corssen, *Die Spaltung des Pythagoreischen Bundes*. The traditional accounts (Porphyry, Iamblichus, etc.) enormously ante-date the end of the Pythagorean supremacy in Magna Graecia, by placing it during the lifetime of Pythagoras himself. The end really came about 410 B.C. R. Mollweide, *Zu Homer und Aristarch*. Discusses Oxyrhynchus Papyri, vol. viii 1086 (Scholia on *Iliad* ii). The scholia claim to represent the views of Aristarchus: in reality they are on the plane of Zenodotean criticism. If this is correct, the tradition of the provenance of Homer-criticism (cf. Roemer, *Rhein. Mus.* 1911; *Philol.* 1911) was already confused in first century B.C. (cf. Hunt's dating). J. Mesk, *Seneca's Apocolocyntosis und Hercules Furens*. Parallels in the tragedy and satire (cf. especially *Apoc.* 5, 3, ut qui non omnia monstra timerunt with *Herc. Fur.* 44 and 454). The satire probably the earlier. R. Asmus, *Zur Kritik und Erklärung von Julian*, Ep. 59 ed. Herrl. Ep. 59 really contains two compositions, now contaminated. Date, literary source (probably Demosthenes), and separate passages discussed. E. Drerup, *Eine alte Blattversetzung bei Alexander Numeniu*. Argues that the paragraph on Epanalepsis and Epanaphora, which now appears in Bk. I among the σχήματα διανοιῶν, originally stood in Bk. II among the σχήματα λέξεων. This explanation throws light on the relation of Epitome I to Caecilius and the later excerptors of Alexander. W. Capelle, *Mereorolογία I*. An exhaustive investigation into Greek usage of μετώπος and derivatives.

**Revue de Philologie.** Vol. 36. No. 1. 1912.

P. Lejay, *Ten Months of Tedium* (on Virgil's 4th Eclogue). The 'ten months' of v. 61 are to be reckoned to the infant's first smiling, which was popularly assigned to the 40th day after birth. The rôle which the infant plays in the evolution of the golden age is purely passive, though in 17 and 54 V. has transferred to him what would be more appropriate to the 'heroes' of the olden time. There is a mysterious bond between the 'child' and his development and that of the world, which is transformed as he grows up. The child however is real, and the eclogue is a prophecy written for 'the first smile.' An Appendix summarizes Kukula's view in his *Römische Säkularpoesie*. M. Bréal, *The exclamation malum!* C. Picard, *The Decree on the Establishment of the Oligarchy at Thasos* (412-1 B.C.). Notes and corrections of the text. L. Havet, *Verg. Aen. 9. 160-3.* 160 was an unfinished verse 'Cura datur Messapo et moenia' and 'cingere flammis' added from 10. 119. 163 describes officers and should precede 161. *Aen. 9. 229.* For 'adnixi' l. 'nixi.' *Aen. 11. 503* l. 'audeo' with hiatus. W. M. Calder, *Inscriptions of Iconium*. 48 inscriptions: texts and notes. Ph. Fabis,

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*January 15 A.D. 69 at Rome.* A detailed examination of the accounts in Tacitus, Plutarch, Suetonius and Dio Cassius of Galba's fall and Otho's accession. The Reinach, *On the Schlumberger Mirror*. We should read αἱ λέαναι [ει] Δαΐσα μητρίων Κορυθίαν, not αἱ λέαναι διαιρύονται K. with Haussoullier: -ε is a negligent spelling for αι. P. Collinet, σχολαστικὸς φόρον Θηβαῖδος. This phrase in Pap. Lond. 922 (Kenyon and Bell, III. p. 253) is a translation of 'Scholasticus fori Thebaidis = patronus fori Theb.' P. L., *Ten Months of Tedium*, postscript.

No. 2.

A. Cartault, *Explanatory Notes on Tibullus and Sulpicia*. The difficulties and unrealities which F. Jacoby (*Rh. Mus.* 64 and 65) has found in I. i. are imaginary. J. J. Hartman's defence (*Flos delibatus Elegiae romanae*) and appreciation of IV. 2-6 and 7-12 are commended and modified in some details. In IV. 10. 1 sq. the construction is 'gratum est (id) quod tibi permittis, securus multum de me, ne subito male cadam inepta' in lines 7, 8 it is 'solliciti pro nobis sunt (ei) quibus illa maxima causa dolori est' (or 'doloris' Rigler) 'ne credam ignoto toro' i.e. 'the fear of my giving myself up to an obscure person' like Cerinthus. In IV. 6. fin. we should read 'Sis iuueni grata' (addressed to Sulpicia) 'ac ueniet cum proximus annus Hic uobis iam uetus exsset amor.' A. Jacoby, *Curae Strabonianaæ*. Defects in Kramer's apparatus. Critical notes on detached passages and collation of Par. 1397 (A) and Par. 1393 (C) and Par. 1408 (s) for book IV. G. Wormser, *The Dialogus oratorum and the Institutio oratoria*. Quintilian's book appeared in 94, and the next year Tacitus treated the subject from a different point of view. He despairs of the reformation which Q. deemed possible. D. Serruys, *Stobaeus Florileg.* III. 29. 86 and 36. 14<sup>a</sup>. Notes that the tradition of Stob. is often corrupted from that of Plutarch. L. Havet, 'forxit.' Found in Hor. *Od.* 1. 28. 31 and elsewhere. *The form of funus in Lucan.* This is *foenus*, to be read in I. 129 (MSS. *foedere*). Isidore *Etym.* 2. 21. 43 For *tefot* (Lindsay) read *efem* = *ἴφ' ἵν*, explained by 'in eodem sensu.' P. Collomp, *per omnia elementa*. This phrase in Apuleius' account of his initiation in the mysteries of Isis, *Met.* XI. 23, designates the mystic purifying passage of the soul through the zones of the planets. P. Lejay, *Ascension through the heavens in Eusebius of Caesarea* (H. *Eccl.* X. iv. 15). A parallel to the passages cited in the previous paper. J. Vendryes, *The language of the Deification Tabellae of Johns Hopkins University*. Notes on forms. R. Waltz, *The Scene of Petronius' Satyricon*. This is laid entirely in Campania and at Crotona. Bücheler's introduction of Marseilles is based on a misunderstanding of Sidon. *Apoll.* XXIII. 155 sqq.

#### Revue des Études grecques. XXV. 111.

M. Croiset, *The rôle of Admetus in the Alcestis*. A defence of the character of Admetus. Emile Bourget, *Report on a mission to Delphi*. Seure, *Two Thracian variants of the Diana Huntress type*.

XXV. 112.

Cavaignac, *The Greek History of Theopompos*. An article on the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus of 1907 accompanied by translation. Michon, *The Sculptures of Aegina and Phigalia*. Detailed account of their acquisition by the Musée Napoleon.

#### Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. LXVIII. 1. 1913.

W. Judeich, *Das Ende von Caesars Gallischer Statthalterschaft und der Ausbruch des Bürgerkrieges*. To show that the end of Caesar's command in Gaul was legally fixed at December 29, 50 B.C., not March 1, as Hirschfeld, or March 1, 49 B.C., the older traditional date. O. Seeck, *Zur Geschichte des Lavinatischen Kultus*. Connects C. I. L. xiv. 2065 with the Emperor Julian, and suggests a full restoration of the text. Ch. Huelsen, *Die Grabgruppe eines römischen Ehepaars im Vatikan*. To identify the Vatican Bust No. 388 from a notice in the Codex Barberinus XXX. 89. Nachtrag

on history of the group. W. Aly, *Hesiodos von Askra und der Verfasser der Theogonie*. To show that the author of the *Works and Days* wrote only later additions to the *Theogonie*, and not the main body of the poem, but is that Hesiod referred to in Theog. 22. Arguments from subject matter, dialect forms and vocabulary. F. Becker, *Vergil und Quintus*. To determine the relationship of the poets according to strict Quellenkritik (i.) by their use and modifications of Homer and (ii.) by points where Virgil and Quintus both differ from the pre-Virgilian received tradition (iii.) by passages where Quintus seems definitely to be advancing a point of view opposed to Virgil's. A. Ludwig, *Nomina*. Notes on text: Dionys. 2, 424, 11. 227, 22. 288, 25. 439. 33. 174, 33. 195, 34. 157, 42. 288, 48. 113. K. Ziegler, *Plutarchstudien*. 3. Z. admits prior antiquity of the 2 vol. recension of the Lives: advances new discussion of the Madrid MS. and S. C. Thulin, *Der Frontinuskommentar*. Criticism of Lachmann's theory about Agennius, etc: discussion of the relation of 'Frontinus' to these authors. E. Kroymann, *Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Tertulliantextes*. An incisive criticism of the tradition: an attempt to fix the true place of certain MSS in the 'stemma codicum': evidence for dislocations in common source of *A* and PNE.

Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica. Vol. 41. No. 1. 1913.

*Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica*, Vol. 41, No. 1, 1913.

C. O. Zuretti, *Varia II*. 1. Callinus I. 15. Suggests οἶκετα. 2. Explains Alcman 38 by Longus *Soph.* II. 4-6. 3. Cites Mistral's *Mirèio* II. 253 sqq. in illustration of Longus I. 24. 4. Xen. *Mem.* III. 11. The dialogue of Socrates with the beautiful courtesan Theodote is to be interpreted as extolling the goods of the soul. 5. On the situation in Menand. *Georg.* 87. 6. Quint. X. 1. 96 'legi dignus' glances at Hor. S. I. 4. 72. E. Borrero, *Latin and Greek in America*. On F. W. Kelsey's *Latin and Greek in American Education* with references to humanistic education in Italy. A. Cosatini, *Art and Representation (Mimesis) in Greece*. Examines the dicta of Plato and Aristotle on poetry. The Mime and the Idyll may have been of religious origin, but they include other elements. E. Pozzi, *On the extreme limit of the History of Posidonus of Apamea*. This was probably Sulla's death (78 B.C.). In Suidas s.v. Ποσειδώνιος Ἀλέξανδρεῖς the words ἔως τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Κυρηναϊκοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαϊκοῦ refer to the Αἰγαίκα of Posidonus of Olbia. C. Pascal, *Tacitus on Fate* (*Ann.* VI. 22). T. contrasts the Epicurean doctrine (stated exactly, though possibly argued on political and popular lines) and the Stoic in the form given it by Chrysippus without the concessions made by Diogenes of Seleucia to the *Genethliaci*. V. Ussani, *On the Ludus de Morte Claudi*. On cap. 9 for 'disputari' l. 'dis fas esse,' 'nec' = 'ne—quidem'; ib. 'uis sua fert' defended., ib. for 'famam' l. θάνατον, 11 for 'tristionias assariorum' l. 'testimonios assariorum.' 13 l. 'decoris causa mitiore fecerat cum Messalina.' U. Mancuso, *Notes and queries on Bacchylides*. Passages discussed: III. 21-22. V. 121-2, supplies [πόθῳ οἴ] λαοε and [πάτερι οἴ]. X. 115 sqq. (120 l. πρόγονοι μὲν οὐσαν οἴ]. XVI. 53 l. ἀπρόπερα σεμνά. U. Moricca, *On the Composition of Lucr.* I. Criticizes Lackenbacher's transposition of I. 951 sqq. to follow II. 332. E. Bignone, *Supplement to Lucr.* II. 801 sqq. Supports *versus per sensu* (804).

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1912.

Dec. 2. *Nous et utera.* 1ère année, num. 2 (Nohl). A summary of contents given. C. C. Coulter, *Retractatio in the Ambrosian and Palatine Recensions of Plautus* (E. Sonnenburg). A study of the *Persa*, *Poenulus*, *Pseudolus*, *Stichus* and *Trinummus*.

Dec. 9. A. Raeder, *L'arbitrage international chez les Hellènes* (W. Larfeld). 'Has diligently collected very rich material.' Tacitus, *The Histories*, translated by W. H. Fyfe (G. Andresen). 'Excellent on the whole.'

Dec. 16. M. E. Deutsch, *Notes on the Text of the Corpus Tibullianum* (G. Fried-

rich). 'Good, but better in criticism than in conjectures.' C. Engelke, *Quae ratio intercedat inter Vergilius Georgica et Varronis verum rusticarum libros* (O. Gühling). 'Strongly to be recommended.'

Dec. 23. *Euripiades*, with an English translation by A. S. Way. I. (H. Gillis-chewski). This is vol. i. of the 'Loeb Classical Library' edition, containing *Iphig. I.A.*, *Rhesus*, *Hecuba*, *Troades* and *Helena*. 'Excellent, and useful for comparing Greek and English.' Th. Stangl, *Ciceronis orationum scholia*. Vol. ii., with a commentary (J. H. Schmalz). E. V. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (A. Bonhöffer). 'A valuable contribution to a better understanding of the Stoia.'

Dec. 30. J. K. Schönberger, *Tulliana*. Textkritische und sprachliche Bemerkungen zu Ciceros Reden *pro S. Roscio*, *pro Caelio*, *pro Murena*, *pro Caelio* und *pro Milone* (K. Busche). 'To be recommended to every future editor of these speeches.'

1913. Jan. 6. W. Gemoll, *Xenophontis institutio Cyri*, rec. W. G. Ed. mai. (W. Vollbrecht). H. Sjögren, *Ciceronis ad Quintum fratrem epist. lib. IIII*, rec. H. S. (W. Sternkopf). Many conjectures considered. 'Deserves the thanks of all.' A. Klotz, *Stati Silvae*, Krohni copis usus iterum ed. A. K. (W. Gemoll).

Jan. 13. W. Petersen, *Greek Diminutives in -ov*. A study in semantics (E. Fränkel). J. Lesquier, *Les institutions militaires de l'Egypte sous les Lagides* (A. Wiedemann). 'A clearly written work that adds much to our knowledge.'

Jan. 20. *Gomperz-Heft der Wiener Studien* (Nohl). A collection of contributions in honour of the eightieth birthday of T. Gomperz. R. Dussaud, *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la mer Egée*. Études de préhistoire orientale (P. Goessler). The chapter on Cults and Myths is the best. J. Weidgen, *Text-kritische Bemerkungen*, II. *Zu Thukydides und Horaz* (K. Löschhorn).

Jan. 27. E. Reisinger, *Kretische Vasenmalerei vom Kamares bis zum Palast-Stil* (A. Köster). A. Lörcher, *Das Fremde und das Eigene in Ciceros Büchern De finibus bonorum et malorum und den Academicis* (W. Isleib). Valuable for the psychology of Cicero. K. Mras, *Die Überlieferung Lucians* (W. Gemoll).

Feb. 3. R. W. Livingstone, *The Greek Genius and its Meaning to us* (W. Süss). Rather severely criticized. F. Heden, *Homeriche Götterstudien* (C. Harder). 'Brings forward Scandinavian literature as well as English and German.'

Feb. 10. M. Brillant, *Les secrétaires Athéniens* (F. Cauer). A. Gudeman, *Two Textual Problems in the Dialogues of Tacitus* (G. Andreesen). On the gaps after c. 35 and in c. 40, 7.

Feb. 17. C. F. Abdy Williams, *The Aristoxenian Theory of Musical Rhythm* (Draheim). 'Much must remain uncertain, but what is certain is here ascertained.' J. Börner, *De Quintilianni institutionis oratoriae dispositione*, I (J. Tolkien). 'Examines how far Q. has proceeded independently in the arrangement of his work.'

Feb. 24. H. Bulle, *Der Schöne Mensch im Altertum*, 2 Aufl. (H. Lamer). 'I know no better book for an introduction to ancient art by private study.' H. Brewer, *Geschichtliche Betrachtungen zu Komodian* (J. Dräseke).

Mar. 3. H. Schneider, *Untersuchungen über die Staatsbegäbnisse und den Aufbau der öffentlichen Leichenreden bei den Athenern in der klassischen Zeit* (H. Blümner). 'A good piece of work.' R. Ellis, *The Amores of Ovid* (Pfister). A lecture with reference to P. Brandt's recent commentary. J. Bidez, *La traduction manuscrite du lexique de Suidas* (R. Wagner). Contribution: G. Rosenthal, *Anmerkungen zur tragischen Katharsis*, I.

Mar. 10. Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Herausg. von W. Kroll. XIV. Halbband. *Glykyrrhiza—Helikeia* (Fr. Harder). A. Ludwich, *Musaios, Hero und Leandros*, herausg. von A. L. (J. Hilberg). Edited with selected readings and scholia. Contribution: G. Rosenthal, *Anmerkungen zur tragischen Katharsis*. II. Gives his interpretation of Goethe's translation of Ar. *Post.* vi, 2.

## LANGUAGE.

**Indogermanische Forschungen.** XXXI. Band, 1, 2, 3 Hefte. 1912.

This volume is the first instalment of a *Festschrift* in honour of Berthold Delbrück, and contains twenty-seven articles of which the following deal with Greek or Latin subjects. A. Thumb discusses the *History of the Combination -σθ-* in the N.W. *Dialects*, and makes a strong case against the current theory that connects N.W. -στ- = -σθ- with similar phenomena in Hellenistic and modern Greek. W. Havers, *On the 'Splitting' of the Genitive in Greek*, with special reference to the theory that the 'partitive' genitive was originally 'independent and adverbial.' Hatzidakis, *Analogy in the Dialect of Pontus*: e.g. -ονη for -ομεν, -μέτρα for -μένη, ἔγενοτον. J. Wackernagel, *Dissimilation in Latin and Greek*, optare (*op* = 'choose,' cf. ἐπιόψυχαι II. 9, 167 which has no connection with ὄψουαι *videbo*), *parabola* = *verbum*, *quia* (originally = *quare* cf. *quianam*? and French *car* from *quare*?). W. G. Hale, *The Origin of the Distinction of Tenses in Latin Prohibition*, 'It seems to me probable that the frequent occurrence of the perfect in prohibitions addressed to individuals, and the infrequent occurrence of it in general prohibitions, led to the association of the former tense with the idea of individual prohibition, and of the latter with the idea of general prohibition.' Thurneysen, *purgare* (= *purigare*, from *pūr*, 'fire,' cf. *fumus*, *fumigare*). Pokrowskij, *benignus*, 'well-born,' cf. *veoyōs*, γῆ εὐγενής; *consimina*; *armisfer* owes its vocalism (cf. ὀπλοφόρος) to the loss of *intensiva* and *causativa* of the type φορέω, φοβέω in Latin; *pluscīa*, 'witch' = *plus-scīa* (*Petron.* 63). Köhm, *animus despondere*. Goetz on certain words in Varro *De Re Rustica*. Schöll, *senecta*—*iuuenta*, supports Lindsay's explanation '*iuuenta* was formed on the analogy of *senecta* (sc. *actas*), cf. *senecta actas* seven times in Plautus, e.g. *Merc.* 985.

**Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.** XVII. 4.

Meillet, *On the Iranian words borrowed by Armenian*. Marouzeau, *Notes on the Fixation of Classical Latin*.

XVIII. 1.

Bloch, *Notes on the Language of a Child*. An interesting and careful study in Phonology.

XVIII. 2.

Marouzeau, *Notes on the Fixation of Classical Latin*. Meillet, *A Note on the Greek κόστυφος*.

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